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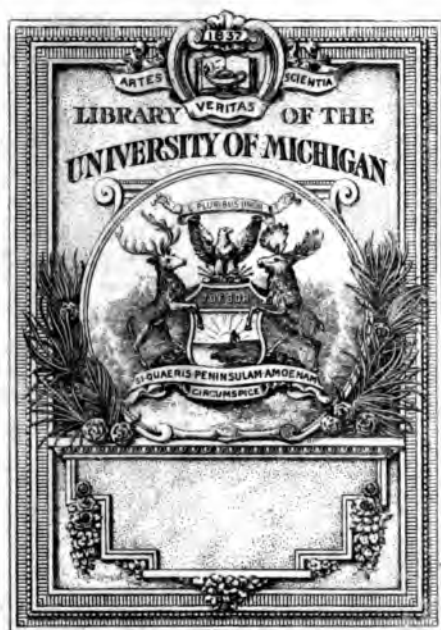
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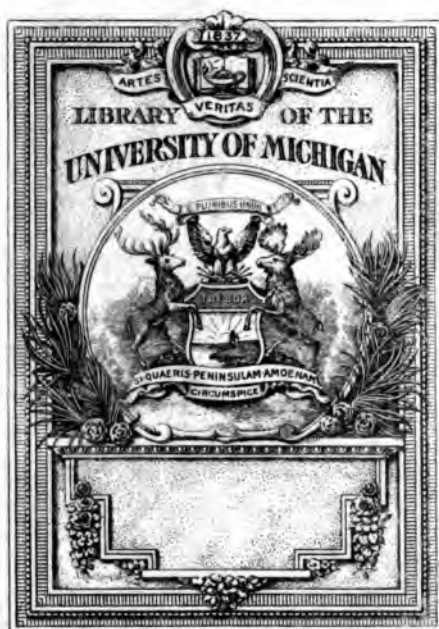
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# HERMATHENA.

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ARISTOTLE'S '*PARVA NATURALIA*.'

*De Sensu.*

ARISTOTLE states very clearly, at the beginning of the *De Anima*, his reason for undertaking the investigation of ψυχή, namely, that δοκεῖ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἅπασαν ἢ γνῶσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη συμβάλλεσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν. ἔστι γὰρ οἶον ἀρχὴ τῶν ζώων (402<sup>a</sup>, 4-6). And in Book II. iv. (415<sup>b</sup>, 7-20) he says ψυχή is not only ἀρχή, but αἰτία, τοῦ ζῶντος σώματος, an assertion which he there explains and confirms in detail. ψυχή being the one common attribute of all the forms which constitute organic nature—the meaning of τὴν φύσιν above—it seemed to him that the study which he was about to make of all living forms should commence with a tract περὶ ψυχῆς. ψυχή was for him the principle of life as well as of mind. Accordingly, his work was intended to cover the whole ground now divided between Biology, Physiology, and Psychology. As was to be expected, this dual view of ψυχή, as principle of life (vegetable or animal), and as principle of mind in all its manifestations, proved fatal to his attempt at a systematic treatment of his subject. From the outset

of the *De Anima* a tendency may be observed on his part to pursue now one, now the other, of two more and more divergent lines, the first leading him to Metaphysics, the second to Physiology. For a while he struggles against this tendency, but in the end yields, more or less completely, to the metaphysical bias. In *De An.* III. we find him largely engaged, and with all the fervour of a 'First Philosopher,' in speculating on the subject of a 'νοῦς which thinks itself'—the crowning conception of his Metaphysics. Having, in the *De Anima*, dwelt with preponderating interest on the *mental* side of ψυχή, he declares (*De Sensu, ad. init.*) that, while the conclusions there attained must be allowed to stand, he will now occupy himself solely, or chiefly, with its *physical* side. Hitherto, although the functions of body in psychical experience were continually referred to, still, on the whole, the interest of the discussion was made to turn on such questions as—of what activities, if any, is ψυχή, apart altogether from σῶμα, capable? In the *De Sensu* and following tracts all this is changed. Aristotle announces his intention of henceforth discussing only τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα. Thus he makes Psychology a stage in the direction of Biology or Physiology. Accordingly several of the little works which make up the *Parva Naturalia* are (as far as the writer's intention goes) contributions to empirical psychology, the essential mark of which is that it treats mind as *given* in experience equally with body; in other words, treats only of the *phenomena* of mind—of the *processes* and *events* of sensation or reflection, in which experience or knowledge is progressively acquired by the individual or the species. Important though these tracts are, not only to the philologist, but to the psychologist, they have not in modern times been much studied. The text is very unsettled, and the interpretation presents many difficulties. In this paper

I shall confine myself to the *De Sensu*, with Alexander's Commentary thereon.

Thurot's splendid edition of Alexander's Commentary on Aristotle's *De Sensu* is an indispensable auxiliary in any exhaustive study of the *De Sensu* itself. I shall therefore presume that this edition is familiar to my readers, and forbear from offering any further observations on it, save those arising in connexion with Aristotle's text. In an appendix to his edition Thurot gives a list of passages in which Alexander's Commentary is useful for the rectification of the text of the *De Sensu*. To this part of Thurot's work I shall most often have occasion to refer.

The title of the tract, as given by Bekker, is—Περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν. In three MSS. αἰσθήσεων is found for αἰσθήσεως. Thurot says that Alexander read αἰσθήσεων. The words of Alexander (p. 6, line 12 *seqq.*, Thurot's Ed.) are:—

Δεγὼν δὲ περὶ αἰσθητηρίων τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἐπέγραψεν αὐτό, ὡς καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων λόγου εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων συντελοῦντος θεωρίαν (κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ αἰσθησις ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος), ἣ αἰσθήσεων ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσθητηρίων (αἰσθήσεις γὰρ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια καλοῦσιν).

Here Alexander cites the title as Bekker prints it. Thurot's assertion that αἰσθήσεως, in line 12, is corrupt, seems quite arbitrary. He gives no reason for it, but seems to think it manifest from the words in which Alexander attempts to account for the title. Alexander himself is silent about any variation in the text of his authorities as to the title of the tract. He has already (lines 3-11) declared his opinion that the *De Sensu* treats of the αἰσθητήρια καὶ αἰσθητά, and that the title conveys this. All that he still deems needful to be explained is why Aristotle, in this title, uses αἰσθήσεως rather than αἰσθητηρίων. In answer to this he makes the two suggestions above quoted,

viz. (a) that the discussion of the αἰσθητήρια will contribute to complete the theory of the αἰσθήσεις, αἴθησις being a function of body and soul in common, and the αἰσθητήρια being bodily organs; in which case the tract would be implicitly, or virtually, a treatise περὶ αἰσθήσεως. The alternative suggestion (b) is that αἰσθήσεων is here, in accordance with a common practice, used by Aristotle for αἰσθητηρίων. This (Thurot must think) proves that Alexander read αἰσθήσεων: yet αἰσθήσεων may be interpreted as a quite general expression = 'The several αἰσθήσεις being spoken of instead of their several αἰσθητήρια,' an interpretation which might as well have been given by Alexander for αἰσθήσεως as for αἰσθήσεων. Indeed the fact that there is a *varia lectio* αἰσθητηρίου in three MSS. of Alexander, referred to by Thurot, seems to make it doubtful whether both these last words, αἰσθήσεων and αἰσθητηρίων, should not be genitives singular instead of genitives plural. The genuine title appears to be that printed by Bekker. It is in keeping with the actual plan of the *De Sensu*. For this the interpretation of αἰσθήσεως as = αἰσθητηρίων, given by Alexander, is too narrow. It would suit the opening chapters 2-5, but breaks down as applied to chapters 6 and 7 (in which the theory of αἴθησις, given in *De Anima*, seems to be intentionally supplemented), and in which the subject is no longer τὰ αἰσθητήρια, but ἡ αἴθησις—the faculty of sense-perception. Alexander, however, is so convinced that Aristotle here only intends to treat of the αἰσθητήρια and αἰσθητά, that on page 15, line 3 (Thurot's Ed.), he refers to the tract *De Sensu* as τὸν περὶ αἰσθητηρίων τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν λόγον.<sup>1</sup> No one that I am aware of has, however, at least in recent times, argued from this, that Alexander had before him a variant αἰσθητηρίων for αἰσθήσεως in the title of the work. He did not perceive the special propriety of αἰσθήσεως, including, as it does,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arist. *De Mem. ad init.*

what is intended by αἰσθητήρια, and also the further development of the doctrine of sense-perception contained in chapters 6 and 7. This would not be sufficiently conveyed by αἰσθήσεων, which could here only = αἰσθητηρίων.

436<sup>a</sup>, 10-14:—

καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα σχεδὸν ὑπάρχει πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ μὲν πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν μετεχόντων ζωῆς κοινά, τὰ δὲ τῶν ζώων ἐνίοις. τυγχάνουσι δὲ τούτων τὰ μέγιστα τέσσαρες οὖσαι συζυγίαι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅλον ἐγρηγόρσις καὶ ὕπνος κ.τ.λ.

Aristotle has just enumerated αἴσθησις, μνήμη, θυμός, ἐπιθυμία, καὶ ὅλως ὄρεξις, with ἡδονή and λύπη as functions of ψυχὴ and σῶμα conjointly. He goes on to enumerate afterwards sleeping and waking, youth and old age, inhaling and exhaling, life and death, as four *pairs* of phenomena which resemble the above in being conjunct functions of soul and body. This conjunct character belongs to and accompanies them whether they extend to all τὰ μετέχοντα ζωῆς, or to all animals, or are peculiar to certain species of animals. Alexander remarks that in these *pairs* Aristotle states the subjects of a series of tracts to follow the *De Sensu* and *De Memoria*, but that he actually discusses αἴσθησις μνήμη, &c., before proceeding to the *pairs*; and he adds (page 15, line 4, Thurot) καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐρεῖ τόδε "καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα σχεδὸν ὑπάρχει πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις" εἶπε· διὸ προστίθησι "οὐ γὰρ μόνα τὰδε κοινά, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεῖνα." Here in the words οὐ—καὶ κεῖνα we seem to have before us a clause read in his texts by Alexander, but of which no other record remains. Thurot, who, on the page referred to, prints the words in inverted commas, showing that he at first took this view of the matter, says, in an appendix of 'additions and corrections,' that the inverted commas should be suppressed. He gives no reason for this. I presume, however, it is because he is unable to see how the words in question could be fitted anywhere into the text of the passage



before us. However this may be, there is no mistaking the import of Alexander's διὰ προστίθησι, which is, that he treats the eight words which follow as words of Aristotle's text.

436<sup>b</sup>, 17-18:—

καὶ ὅλως ὁ χυμός ἐστι τοῦ θρεπτικοῦ μορίου πάθος.

Alexander (page 22, lines 10-14) clearly read γευστικοῦ here, not θρεπτικοῦ, though he mentions the latter as a variant, which, if accepted, we must not, he says, refer, as Aspasius refers it, to the faculty of ψυχή called by Aristotle τὸ θρεπτικόν, but to the [bodily?] organ through which nutrition is effected, so that Aristotle should be understood here to make χυμός an affection of τὸ τρέφειν δυνάμενον μόριον. 'But' (he goes on to say), 'the reading γευστικοῦ is better.' He speaks of a third reading, τοῦ γευστικοῦ θρεπτικοῦ μορίου, which, if accepted, must, he says, be taken as equivalent to τοῦ γευστικοῦ μορίου ὃ ἐστι θρεπτικόν, the general notion, τὸ γευστικόν, being divided into τὸ θρεπτικόν καὶ τὸ μή. Two of Bekker's MSS. give γευστικοῦ. But the sense plainly requires θρεπτικοῦ : γευστικοῦ would be quite pointless in this connexion. There is no weight in Alexander's argument:—

"Ἀποποιεῖται τὸ λέγειν ὑπὸ χυμῶν πάσχειν τὴν θρεπτικὴν δύναμιν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ χυμῶν πάσχειν τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι χυμοῦ ἐστι, τὸ δὲ θρεπτικὸν ἄλλο τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ.

The point pressed by Aristotle is, that χυμός—the object of γεῦσις—is related in a peculiarly close way to τὸ θρεπτικόν (to say that it is related to τὸ γευστικόν would be mere tautology); and this same point is further developed in 441<sup>b</sup>, 23 seqq., where we read—ὅτι δ' οὐ παντὸς ξηροῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ τροφίμου οἱ χυμοὶ ἢ πάθος εἰσιν ἢ στέρησις κ.τ.λ. As χυμός, the objective quality of taste, is, in this latter passage, shown to be related to τὸ τρόφιμον, the objective quality of nutritiveness, so, in the passage before us, it is

shown to be related to τὸ θρεπτικόν, the nutrient faculty. Indeed, the one relation necessarily implies the other; this, too, is involved in the preceding sentence in the words ἡ δὲ γεῦσις διὰ τὴν τροφήν κ. τ. λ. Thurot rightly says that θρεπτικοῦ is the correct reading, and must refer to the nutrient organs regarded as operating in subordination to the nutritive soul.

437<sup>a</sup>, 17-22 :—

περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς δυνάμεως ἣν ἔχει τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐκάστη, πρότερον εἴρηται. Τοῦ δὲ σώματος ἐν οἷς ἐγγίνεσθαι (leg. ἐγγίνεσθαι) πέφυκεν αἰσθητηρίοις, ἔνιοι μὲν ζητοῦσι κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῶν σωμάτων· οὐκ εὐποροῦντες δὲ πρὸς τέτταρα πέντ' οὔσας συνάγειν, γλίσχονται περὶ τῆς πέμπτης.

In the words τοῦ . . . αἰσθητηρίοις, Thurot finds a difficulty, confessing himself at a loss as to their construction. Nor is this difficulty settled for him by the words of Alexander bearing on the point : περὶ δὲ τοῦ σώματος δι' οὗ ἡ αἴσθησις γίνεται (ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ αἰσθητήριον). Hence he would read τὰ αἰσθητήρια, and construe this substantive with τοῦ σώματος, regarding ἐν οἷς as depending on ζητοῦσι, as though the text ran : Ζητοῦσι ταῦτα ἐν οἷς ἐγγίνεσθαι πέφυκε τὰ αἰσθητήρια τοῦ σώματος. It is hard indeed to believe that such a scholar as M. Thurot should stumble over a mere grammatical point, yet such appears to be the fact here. His difficulty is, in reality, none at all. In the sentence τοῦ . . . αἰσθητηρίοις we have an instance of what is familiar as the attraction of the antecedent into the relative clause, where it is made to agree in case with the relative, and to drop the article that it would otherwise have. Thurot himself actually arrives at this analysis of the sentence, but he thinks it necessary to conjecture τὰ αἰσθητήρια for αἰσθητηρίοις, thereby turning an idiomatic sentence into a piece of schoolboy Greek. Besides, τὰ αἰσθητήρια could not stand in the place of αἰσθητηρίοις, but

should come before ἐν οἷς, where it is already logically implied, though not expressed, according to the idiomatic construction above mentioned. Thurot, however, sees the sense clearly enough. Alexander does not. His explanation of the genitive τοῦ σώματος, as depending on the repetition of περὶ, understood from the preceding sentence, is quite wrong. St. Hilaire, too, goes astray, rendering:— 'Pour savoir précisément quel est le corps qui agit naturellement dans chacun des organes.' The version of Vatablus is correct:—'Corporea autem sensoria in quibus ii [sc. sensus] fieri apti sunt &c.'

The exact sense of γλίσχονται in the above sentence is not obvious. Philosophers (we are told), not finding it easy to adjust the alleged relationship between the five senses and the four elements, γλίσχονται περὶ τῆς πέμπτης (sc. αἰσθήσεως).<sup>1</sup> St. Hilaire renders:—'on a été conduit à imaginer un cinquième élément,' referring πέμπτης to στοιχείου, as though this were feminine. The etymology of the word γλίσχομαι is uncertain. Vaniček and Curtius are both in error as to the quantity of the first vowel, which they mark long. That it is not so is proved by Aristophanes Γεωργοί [frag. 160, Dindorf]: τί δῆτα τούτων τῶν κακῶν, ὦ παῖ, γλίχει; Curtius subsequently (*Greek Verb*, p. 150, Engl. trans.) states the quantity rightly, but his etymology connecting the word with γλίσχρος is vitiated to some extent by the above error. If γλίσχομαι were co-radical with γλίσχρος, we might illustrate here by *haerere*, or *hæsilare*, in aliqua re; but this hypothesis is weak, and Curtius, at least when first maintaining it, did not know that it would involve a serious exception to his rule (*Gk. Etym.*, 700): 'der Vocal ist überall vor diesem aus *sk* entstandenen *χ* lang.' Adopting this connexion, one might familiarly render γλίσχονται περὶ here 'are stuck respecting.' The word means much more than ἀπορῶνσι,

<sup>1</sup> Here αἰσθήσεις seems equivalent to αἰσθητήρια.

which, even in its dialectical use, is purely *negative*. The Etymolog. M., pp. 234, 35 (in a note on the above-quoted verse of Aristophanes) renders γλιχόμενος by καρτερῶν ἢ ἐπιθυμῶν. Herodotus, II., 102, writes : δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας of men who *strove hard* for freedom. It is this *positive* feature in the meaning of the word to which I would call attention, as distinguishing it from ἀποροῦσι. A survey of its usage inclines one to separate it from the root of γλίσχρος, as Vaniček does, and, following him (except in marking ῖ) to refer it to the root of 'Sk. Grdh = *ausgreifen, nach etwas streben*.' Thus γλίσχονται περὶ would here mean : 'they *strive eagerly, but vainly, for a theory of*' [the fifth sense in correlation with the four elements] ; and we should compare the use of *quaerere de*, e. g. in Lucretius I., 332 : et *quaerere* semper *de* summa rerum, i. e. 'to be to seek—to seek vainly—for an intelligible account of the summa rerum.'

437<sup>a</sup>, 26-9 :—

ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν τοῦτο καὶ ἑτέραν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἔστι λανθάνειν αἰσθανόμενον καὶ ὁρῶντα ὁρώμενόν τι, ἀνάγκη ἄρ' αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν ὁρᾶν τὸν ὀφθαλμόν.

On this Thurot says :—'Les mots ὁρώμενόν τι n'ont pas de sens. Ensuite pour que le raisonnement soit complet, il faut qu'ils soient remplacés par ce qu' Alexandre (36, 1) semble avoir lu dans son texte—ὁρῶν δ' ὁρᾷ τι.' The words of Alexander are :—

Ἔστι δ' ἣν προστίθουσιν ἀπορίαν αὕτη· εἰ μὴ ἔστι λανθάνειν αὐτὸν αἰσθανόμενον καὶ ὁρῶντα, ὡς δοκεῖν μὲν ὁρᾶν, μηδὲν δὲ ὁρᾶν, ὁρώσα δὲ ἡ ὄψις τότε γε (Thurot's correction for δὲ) ὁρᾷ τι, δηλὸν ὅτι ἑαυτὴν ὁρᾷ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλο γέ τί ἐστι τότε ὁρώμενον ὑπ' αὐτῆς.

Aristotle has just stated the opinion of all philosophers to be, that the visual organ proper consists of fire, this opinion

resting upon the observed fact that, when the eyeball is pressed, or moved, in the dark (or when the lids are closed), a flash of fire appears within the eye. He then argues, in the words before us, that if this be so—if the visual organ consists of fire, and sees itself in the case described—there is no reason why it should not see itself when at rest as well as when the eyeball is moved or pressed. For when a fully conscious (*αἰσθανόμενον*) subject 'sees,' there must be a 'seen' object (*ὁρώμενον τι*) correlated with his act of seeing, and this object cannot escape his notice. Now the eye, according to the above philosophers, is both 'seer' and 'seen,' under the particular circumstances referred to. But being, as they assert, made of fire (which explains its visive power as well as its phosphorescence), it should, says Aristotle, *always* see (or be capable of seeing) itself, without needing to be moved in its socket. This, however, is not the fact; when at rest the eye does not see itself. The meaning is very well given by Ziaja<sup>1</sup> as follows:—'Und hierin entsteht wieder eine zweite schwierige Frage; wenn es nämlich undenkbar ist, dass das Gesehene (d.i. das glänzende Auge als Objekt) von dem, welches wahrnimmt und sieht (d.i. wiederum das Auge als Subjekt), unbemerkt bleibt, so müsste das Auge sich selber sehen. Weshalb nun tritt dies nicht ein, wenn es in Ruhe gelassen wird?'

On Thurot's note, then, we can only observe that Alexander himself gives no hint of any variation in the text of Aristotle at this point; that he, in his usual way, substitutes what he considers equivalent phrases for those of his author, stating the meaning fairly enough, but without anything to make us seriously think he read *ὁρῶν ὃ ὁρᾷ τι*: that Bekker's MSS. give this reading no support; and lastly, that the sense and construction of the text,

<sup>1</sup> Aristoteles de Sensu, *hirs* p. 439<sup>b</sup>. 18, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen.

as it stands, are as simple as they need be. In the clause εἰ . . . ὁρώμενόν τι, the subject of λανθάνειν is the personal subject (treated as masculine), agreeing in case with αἰσθανόμενον and ὁρῶντα. Αἰσθανόμενον is added to ὁρῶντα to express the thought of seeing *consciously*, or with *full consciousness*, somewhat as in Thucydides, v. 26, where the historian says of himself—αἰσθανόμενός τε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ προσέχων τὴν γνώμην, ὅπως ἀκριβές τι εἴσομαι. The translation of the clause before us is: 'If it is impossible that a person in full consciousness should see an object of vision *without knowing that he does so*.' It needs only to be added, that the philosophers, against whom Aristotle argues, believed the eye, *by itself*, in virtue of its being constituted of fire, to be a veritable 'subject' endowed with the faculty of vision.

437<sup>b</sup>, 26—438<sup>a</sup>, 3:—

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις πρόοδον νοέων ὠπλίσσατο λύχρον,  
 χειμερίην διὰ νύκτα πυρὸς σέλας αἰθομένοιο,  
 αἴψας παντοίων ἀνέμων λαμπτήρας ἀμουργοῦς,  
 οὔτ' ἀνέμων μὲν πνεῦμα διασκιδῶσιν ἀέντων,  
 φῶς δ' ἔξω διαθρῶσκον, ὅσον ταναώτερον ἦεν,  
 λάμπεσκεν κατὰ βηλὸν ἀτειρέσιν ἀκτίνεσσιν·  
 ὥς δὲ τότε' ἐν μήνιγξιν ἐεργμένον ὠγύγιον πῦρ  
 λεπτήσιν ὀθόνησι λοχάζετο κύκλοπα κούρην·  
 αἱ δ' ὕδατος μὲν βένθος ἀπέστεγον ἀμφινάοντος,  
 πῦρ δ' ἔξω διαθρῶσκον, ὅσον ταναώτερον ἦεν.

In these interesting verses, quoted here by Aristotle, Empedocles sketches his theory (or one of his theories) as to the elementary nature of vision, with the richness of expression and profusion of imagery which usually characterise his fragments, and tend to justify the eulogium of Lucretius. The poet compares the organ of vision (which was for him the 'lens') to gleaming fire within a lantern,

which protects it from the wind and rain, but does not prevent the more subtile<sup>1</sup> portion of it (i.e. τὸ φῶς) from leaping forth to illuminate the traveller's path. So the membranes of the eye protect the lens from the surrounding humours which, if unchecked, would cause its extinction; but do not prevent the more subtile portion of its fiery substance from leaping forth and exercising its power in the field of vision. The general meaning is quite plain. But several difficulties meet us in details, *e.g.*

(1) Shall we, with Bergk, punctuate after *νύκτα*, *ἄψας*, and *ἀνέμων*, removing the stops at *λύχνον* and *αἰθομένιοι*? (2) Does *ἄψας* mean 'lighting up,' or is Karsten right in translating it 'aptans'? (3) 'Shall we read *ἀμοργούς*, *ἀμουργούς*, or *ἀμουργεῖς*? and how shall we explain these words? (4) What is the true interpretation of *κατὰ βηλόν*? (5) Is the same thing intended by *μήνιγξιν* as by *ὀθόνησι*, or, do they, as Karsten thinks, refer to different things, and, if so, what are these? (6) Is *λοχάζετο* genuine? or is the variant *ἐχεύατο* right? and what is the meaning of the former? (7) What are we to think of the important variant *χοάνησι* (not *χοανῆσι*), as against *ὀθόνησι* in v. 8?

(1). Stein agrees with Bergk in punctuating after *νύκτα*, *ἄψας*, and *ἀνέμων*, not after *λύχνον* and *αἰθομένιοι*. He prints *ἀμοργούς* (= made of linen, or byssus). The words

<sup>1</sup> *ὅσον ταναώτερον ἦεν*: not, as Vatablus renders, quantum se fundere possit; nor as St. Hilaire—d'autant plus loin qu'elle est plus forte; nor yet as Ziaja—so weit sich der Raum dehnt. These versions miss the sense of *ὅσον* and *ταναώτερον*, besides making no effort to explain the comparative. The writer means that all that part of the *πῦρ* which is more extensible and penetrating—in fact the light-rays—leaps forth through the lantern. *τάνσας* is radically appropriate here. Cf. *infra*. 438<sup>a</sup>, 25: *ἄλογον δ' ἔλως τὸ ἐξίοντι τινὶ*

*τὴν ὄψιν ὁρᾶν, καὶ ἀποτείνεσθαι μέχρι τῶν ἄστρον*. The false reading, *φῶς* for *πῦρ*, in this verse is to blame for the false translations of *ὅσον ταναώτερον ἦεν*. 'The more subtile or extensible part of the *light*' did not make sense, and it was not observed that the visibly radiant part of the *fire*, i.e. the light itself, is intended. The tense of *ἦεν* is accommodated to that of *λάμπεσκειν*, *ὑπλίσσασθαι*: these are all consuetudinal tenses. But in vv. 7–10 the tenses point back to the time of the events as conceived by Empedocles.

παντοίων ἀνέμων are construed by him and Bergk as in *Iliad*, B. 397.

τὸν δ' οὐποτε κύματα λειπεί  
παντοίων ἀνέμων.

Thus ἄψας means 'lighting up,' and λαμπτήρας is regarded as in apposition to π. σέλας. But Bekker's punctuation is better. We must distinguish between λύχνος, π. σέλας, and λαμπτήρες. The two latter, when combined, form the λύχνος, which essentially consists of both, viz. the gleaming fire sheltered within the transparent screen. Hence λαμπτήρας cannot stand in apposition to π. σέλας: it is not the *light*, but the *lantern*, or apparatus constructed to shelter or protect the light. Cf. above, 437<sup>b</sup>, 13: ἐξιόντος ὥσπερ ἐκ λαμπτήρος τοῦ φωτός: cf. also 780<sup>a</sup>, 35: διόπερ οὐδ' οἱ λαμπτήρες δύνανται φαίνειν, ἐὰν ᾧσιν ἐκ τοιούτου (sc. μὴ διαφανοῦς) δέρματος.

(2). We are forced by the above considerations to surrender for ἄψας the more obvious sense of 'lighting up,' and to render it, as Karsten does, 'adjusting thereto.'

(3). As to ἀμοργούς, there is this against it, that the *material* of the shade is less relevant here than its *function*; and the much more weighty consideration that ἀμοργούς leaves ἀνέμων without construction; for the Homeric passage, compared by Bergk, is not to the point. ἀμοργούς, on the other hand, explained by Alexander as = ἀπερκτικούς is (if Alexander's explanation be right) just the word we want. Its etymology, however, is uncertain.

(4). Alexander explains κατὰ βηλόν as = κατὰ τὸν οὐρανόν, influenced by Hom. *Il.* xv. 23—

ρίπτασκον τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ κ. τ. λ.

Cf. also *Il.* i. 591. But in these passages βηλός is the *threshold* of heaven, and not = οὐρανός. So, in the passage before us, it undoubtedly means the 'threshold,' or, more generally, the 'trodden way,' leading up to and from the



house-door. This is first illuminated by the beams of light streaming from the traveller's lantern. Karsten rightly renders: 'illustrat *viam*.'

(5). Karsten appears right in distinguishing μήνιγξι (= cornea and sclerotic coat in general) from ὀθόνησι (= the membrane or capsule enclosing the lens).

(6). Fire (here called ὠγύγιον, or primeval, because regarded from the point of view of creation, and as a factor, or *agent*, in the elementary constitution of the eye) is represented by Empedocles as passively confined within the eye, and yet as having actively determined the situation of the κούρη. This determination is referred to in λοχάζετο, the explanation of which given by Karsten is as follows:— 'λοχάζετο activa potestate accipiendum ut sensus proprie hic sit: ignis oculis inclusus, pupulam tenuissimis membranis, *tanquam speculatorem*, occuluit, sepsit. Iam "pupulam sepsit" idem vult ac si dixisset "sese sepsit"; pupula enim oculi aciem continet atque ipsa adeo oculi fax est.' There is no need, with Schneider, to suppose a lacuna after ὠγύγιον πῦρ, the creative fire being itself viewed as an agent in the construction of the eye, corresponding to the intending traveller who (according to the illustration) sets the πυρὸς σέλας within the lantern. Thus λοχάζετο would be the middle voice of λοχάζω (Hesychius), related as its causal form to λοχάω. λόχος, an ambush, λοχάω, to 'lie in ambush,' and λοχάζω (here -ομαι) to 'lay in ambush,' might be compared with τόπος, τοπάω (Eustathius<sup>1</sup>) τοπάζω = (according to Hesychius) ἰδρύει, to 'put in a place.' Perhaps, however, the evident play in ὀθόνησι and κούρην implies that the writer connected λοχάζετο with the λεχ- of λέχος, rather than of λόχος, so that the sense should be 'embedded.' The form λοχάζομαι is only found here and

<sup>1</sup> Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ὥσπερ ματῶ ματάζω νοημάτων ἔχω εἰς τὸ ὑπονοεῖν τόδε τι.—  
καθὰ ἑρρέθη, οὕτω σὺν ἄλλοις καὶ τοπῶ Eust. 543, 17 sqq.  
τοπάζω· ἡγουν τόπους τινὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς

in a passage of the *Anthology* (P. 9, 251), where it means 'to lurk.'

Ἐχθίστη Μούσαις σελιδηφάγε, λωβήτειρα  
 φωλάς, ἀεὶ σοφίης κλέμματα φερβομένη,  
 τίπτει κελαινόχρως ἱεραῖς ψήφοισι λοχάζει,  
 σιλφη, τὴν φθονερὴν εἰκόνα πλαττομένη;

Strange to say, Alexander, in his Commentary on Empedocles' verses, shows no knowledge of λοχάζετο, recognizing only ἐχέυατο. Both readings are well supported in Bekker's MSS. If ἐχέυατο (= moulded) be accepted, it would seem that we should also accept the variant χοάνησιν for ὀθόνησι.

(7). There is in χοάνησι something peculiarly redolent of Empedocles' style and mode of thinking. Cf.—

ἡ δὲ χθὼν ἐπίηρος ἐν εὐστέροισι χοάνοισι κ. τ. λ.

(quoted by Aristotle, *De. An.* I. 5) in which (according to Simplicius) Empedocles means, by χοάνοισιν, the melting-pots wherein, at Creation, the elements generally were fused and things originally moulded. Here the reference would be to the delicate moulds in which the crystalline lens was at first cast. Alexander, however, read λεπτοῖσι ὀθόνησιν ἐχέυατο κύκλοπα κούρην, which, he says, means—λεπτοῖς ὑμέσι περιεκύκλωσε τὴν κυκλικὴν κόρην, and adds, that Empedocles here uses ὀθόνησι for ὑμέσι, with a play on the usual meaning of κούρη. Karsten, accepting Alexander's text, renders χέυατο by ἀμφεχέυατο: but this is extremely forced. In all probability the corruption, which undoubtedly exists in this verse, is as old as the time of Aristotle himself, or older. It certainly existed before the time of Alexander. There is now little hope of rectifying it.

In v. 6 the sense demands (*vide* note, p. 12) that πῦρ should be restored for φῶς. The fire, ὅσον ταναώτερον ἦεν, i.e. the more subtile part of its substance, the light, leaps

forth. φῶς here would deprive *δσον κ. τ. λ.* of all meaning, for *πυρός* could not be understood after *δσον*. *πῦρ* occurs without variation in v. 10.

438<sup>a</sup>, 5-8 :—

Δημόκριτος δ' ὅτι μὲν ὕδωρ εἶναι φησι [τὴν ὄψιν], λέγει καλῶς, ὅτι δ' οἶεται τὸ ὄραν εἶναι τὴν ἔμφασιν, οὐ καλῶς· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ συμβαίνει ὅτι τὸ ὄμμα λεῖον, καὶ ἔστιν οὐκ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὀρώντι· ἀνάκλασις γὰρ τὸ πάθος.

'Democritus,' says Aristotle, 'rightly declares the visual organ to be made of water, but wrongly supposes the act of seeing to be but the "mirroring" of the object in the eye. For this phenomenon [τὸ ἐμφαίνεσθαι] is due to the fact that the eyeball is a smooth body, and does not really exist (i.e. find its full explanation) in that [sc. τῷ λεῖῳ ὀμματι], but in the beholder [does not, that is, exist except for one looking into another's eye, and there seeing the image of the object]. For the phenomenon is merely one of reflexion, and requires for its explanation the visual act of a second person, B, to whose eye the rays projected by the object upon A's eye may be reflected.' The 'image' here referred to by Democritus and Aristotle is not what we know as the 'retinal image,' but that reflected from the external surface of the eye, and seen in the 'pupil.' 'If, says Aristotle, 'the act of vision consisted in this phenomenon, then mirrors and reflecting pools should possess the power of seeing.' Thus the meaning of the passage is plain, and there is no need to correct it, as Thurot tries to do, by transferring οὐκ to the position between ἀλλά and ἐν. My explanation of the passage is substantially that of Ziaja.

438<sup>a</sup>, 15 :—

Ἄλλ' εὐφυλακτότερον καὶ ἐπιληγτότερον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἀέρος.

The eye, says Aristotle, is of water, which is a medium of vision in virtue of its being *διαφανές*. True, air also is

διαφανής, but water has this advantage, that a portion of it may be, more easily than air, detached and kept apart in a receptacle. It is not so easy to seclude a portion of air and keep it in confinement, as the 'humours' are secluded and kept in the eye. The sense evidently requires εὐαποληπτότερον, and Bekker's εὐπιληπτότερον must be regarded as an error, perhaps arising from the notion, on some copyist's part, that, after all, 'reflexion' is the radical fact in vision, and that therefore the medium requires a certain *density*.

438<sup>b</sup>, 8:—

οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐσχάτου ὁμματος ἡ ψυχὴ ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ αἰσθητήριον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι ἐντός.

The diaphanous medium is necessary, internally as well as externally, for vision, because the ψυχὴ is not situated at the outer extremity of the eye, but somewhere within. If it would be harsh to suppose that τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ αἰσθητήριον (as distinct from τοῦ σώματος τὸ αἰσθητήριον) simply = τὸ αἰσθητικόν, we should read αἰσθητικόν (supported by five MSS.) instead of αἰσθητήριον. Alexander seems to have read αἰσθητικόν here. In two references to the clause his words are:—ὅτι μὴ ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἡ ὁρατικὴ δύναμις ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ (p. 76, 4-5): and (p. 77, 1), ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐπ' ἄκρον τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἡ ὁρατικὴ ψυχὴ κ. τ. λ.

Alexander, p. 77, 13:—

οὐ διαφανὲς δὲ τὸ πῦρ, ὡς ἡ ὄψις.

Thurot says he cannot see the meaning of this proposition. But its import is, I think, as follows: ἡ ὄψις = ἡ κόρη: and the diaphanous κόρη is (Alexander has said just above) the medium whereby the κίνησις (light-vibration) is transmitted from the external διαφανές inwards to the ψυχί. Fire, if the κόρη were (as alleged) made of it, would not thus propagate the κίνησις continuously from without inwards.

For, though fire *gives light*, it is not *transparent*, and would if placed at the point occupied by the κόρη (the lens), interrupt the continuity of the διαφανές, or translucent medium. The passage of Aristotle, on which Alexander here comments, 438<sup>b</sup>, 12 *seqq.*, is as follows:—

ἥδη γάρ τισι πληγείσιν ἐν πολέμῳ παρὰ τὸν κρόταφον, οὕτως ὥστ ἐκτμηθῆναι τοὺς πόρους τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἔδοξε γενέσθαι σκότος ὥσπερ λύχνου ἀποσβεσθέντος, διὰ τὸ οἷον λαμπτήρᾳ τινα ἀποτμηθῆναι τὸ διαφανές, τὴν καλουμένην κόρην.

Here, if we distinguish (as before) between λύχνος and λαμπτήρ, the sense is plain. The λύχνος, or *luminary*, is quenched, because the λαμπτήρ, or *transparent medium*, which at once sheltered and transmitted the light, has been cut away. See what has already been said above of λαμπτήρες. It does not seem to me necessary to suppose that Alexander read τοῦ διαφανοῦς in line 16, though I admit that Thurot's impression to the contrary is natural at first sight.

ὥστ' εἴπερ τούτων . . . . . φανερόν ὡς δεῖ κ.τ.λ. 438<sup>b</sup>, 16 *seqq.* Here Baeumker (*Zeitschrift für die Öster. Gym.*, September, 1877), followed by Neuhaeuser (*Aristoteles' Lehre von dem sinnlichen Erkenntnisvermögen*, Leipzig, 1878), recalls εἰ (discarded by Bekker, but found in four MSS.) between ὡς and δεῖ, urging that it is necessary for the sense, if Aristotle is to be freed from the charge of glaring inconsistency. It is strange that neither Baeumker nor Neuhaeuser quotes or refers to Alexander here, who states Baeumker's conclusion as an obvious fact, and indicates some of the very passages of the *De Anima* which form the nerve of Baeumker's argument. *Vide* Alexander, p. 80 (Thurot's Ed.), where these words occur—βουλόμενος [ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης] ἕκαστον αἰσθητήριον ἐκάστῳ τῶν στοιχείων ἀνατιθέσθαι (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ λέγει· εἶπε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς κ.τ.λ.). Alexander also, on p. 78, 2, shows

that he read εἰ before δέῃ. Thurot sees no necessity for adopting this reading of Alexander's, though (with Neuhaeuser) he follows him in reading ἐπὶ τούτων, in 16, instead of τούτων τι. Ziaja, in the little work to which I have already referred, argues vigorously against Baeumker and Neuhaeuser, declaring that the text of Bekker involves no inconsistency on Aristotle's part, and that if it did, the introduction of εἰ would not remedy the matter. Ziaja, too, seems ignorant of the strong support given by Alexander to his opponents' view. The point at issue being critically and exegetically as important as any other in the *De Sensu*, I may discuss it here at some length. The passage of Aristotle is printed thus by Bekker :—

ὥστ' εἴπερ τούτων τι συμβαίνει, καθάπερ λέγομεν, φανερόν ὡς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀποδιδόναι καὶ προσάπτειν ἕκαστον τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἐνὶ τῶν στοιχείων. τοῦ μὲν ὀφθαλμοῦ τὸ ὁρατικὸν ὕδατος ὑποληπτέον, αἰθέρος δὲ τὸ τῶν ψόφων αἰσθητικόν, πυρὸς δὲ τὴν ὁσφρησιν . . . τὸ δ' ἀπτικὸν γῆς. τὸ δὲ γευστικὸν εἰδὸς τι ἀφῆς ἐστίν.

Here the writer refers to the above-mentioned theory, which would harmonize the five senses with the four elements, a theory against the *principle* of which Aristotle has said nothing, although pointing out that its advocates are in difficulties about the fifth sense, and that they too hastily make fire the essential element in the organ of vision. It is natural to suppose that he would now undertake to pronounce upon this theory as to the elemental relations of the αἰσθητήρια, before discussing, as he does in the following chapters, the physical constitution of their respective αἰσθητήρια. It must be remembered, too, that if he does not *here* pronounce on the theory in question, he does so *nowhere* in the *De Sensu*. But to some extent Aristotle certainly does give his own verdict here. That the organ of vision is ὕδωρ, is argued out by him as his own belief: and this being the case, we must, I think,

admit that the establishment of a connexion between the other sensory organs and their related elements, is also contemplated as a conclusion of his own ; though he does not, indeed, argue at length in reference to the other organs, as he does in the case of the organ of vision. It is, besides, incredible that Aristotle should, as Baeumker and Neuhaeuser contend (and as Alexander before them contended), wind up an elaborate disquisition like this, merely with the statement of a conclusion which he did not believe, and which only followed from premises which he did not believe : but, particularly, that he should give his readers no hint of this being his attitude, leaving them to discover it for themselves. It must be added that Aristotle here finds in the bodily situations of the organs of sight, touch, smell, and taste, something which peculiarly confirms the statement here given of their elemental constitution : can it be supposed that in this observation, which he dilates upon so warmly, he is arguing for a theory not his own, and with which he is out of sympathy ?

Baeumker, however, refers to certain passages of the *De Anima*, the *De Gener. An.* and the *De Sensu* itself, which, he says, flatly contradict the assumption that Aristotle here states his own views.

*De An.* III. 1. 3 (425<sup>a</sup>, 3-8) :—

τῶν δὲ ἀπλῶν ἐκ δύο τούτων αἰσθητήρια μόνον ἐστίν, ἐξ ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος (ἡ μὲν γὰρ κόρη ὕδατος, ἡ δ' ἀκοὴ ἀέρος, ἡ δ' ὄσφρησις θατέρου τούτων) τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἡ οὐθενὸς ἡ κοινὸν πάντων (οὐθὲν γὰρ ἄνευ θερμότητος αἰσθητικόν) γῇ δὲ ἡ οὐθενός, ἡ ἐν τῇ ἀφῇ μάλιστα μέμικται ἰδίως. διὸ λείπειτ' ἂν μηθὲν εἶναι αἰσθητήριον ἔξω ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος.

*De An.* III. 13 (435<sup>a</sup>, 24 ; 435<sup>b</sup>, 2) :—

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ὁστοῖς καὶ ταῖς θριξὶ καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις μορίοις οὐκ αἰσθανόμεθα, ὅτι γῆς ἐστίν. καὶ τὰ φυτὰ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεμίαν ἔχει αἰσθησιν, ὅτι γῆς ἐστίν.

Now what is the question before Aristotle in our passage, *De Sensu*? It is that of the *adjustment of a relationship between the five senses (or sense-organs) and the four elements*. The word used to express the effort at such adjustment is *συνάγειν*. It is not contemplated to show that any one of the *αἰσθητήρια* is composed *solely* of any one element, but only that each, while possibly containing an admixture of the other elements, has a peculiarly close affinity to some one element in particular. This is all that the propositions τοῦ μὲν ὀφθαλμοῦ τὸ ὁρατικὸν ὕδατος ὑποληπτέον κ. τ. λ. undertake to assert. The genitive (or 'class-case') appears to have been misunderstood by Baeumker. It becomes plain if compared with a similar use in *De Sensu* IV. (where it has signally misled St. Hilaire) 442<sup>a</sup>, 17, and 22-3:—ὁ μὲν οὖν λιπαρὸς τοῦ γλυκέος ἐστὶ χυμός (= 'the λιπ. χυμός is *to be classed with* the γλυκὺς χυμός'), and λείπεται γὰρ τὸ ξανθὸν μὲν τοῦ λευκοῦ εἶναι, ὥσπερ τὸ λιπαρὸν τοῦ γλυκέος (= 'it remains that the colour ξανθὸν *be classed with* the λευκόν, as the taste of the λιπαρὸν with that of the γλυκὺ'). The passage before us similarly says that τὸ ὁρατικόν is (as the word *συνάγειν* might have shown) *to be classed with* the element ὕδωρ, not as Baeumker supposes, that whatever is visive in it is solely composed of ὕδωρ; and so on with the other *αἰσθητήρια*. Now, on a careful perusal of the above passages in the *De Anima* taken in their context, it will be found that they are only very slightly, if at all, inconsistent with the passage before us thus understood. It is especially noticeable that they, too, are pervaded by the thought here under discussion, that there really *is* a relationship between the several elements and the several sense-organs. This relationship is there, as here, stated to exist between the visual organ and water, and between the auditory organ and air. The idea is there also thrown out, that γῆ is mixed up in a peculiar way with ἀφῆ: only in reference to ὁσφρησις is



there any real difficulty. Ὁσφρησις is, in *De An.*, brought into relation, not with πῦρ, but with either ὕδωρ or ἀήρ : and πῦρ is said either to enter into the constitution of no sense-organ, or (as is immediately after said to be more probable) to enter into the constitution of all sense-organs. But the difficulty, at first felt, almost ceases when we come to see the writer's purpose in the *De Anima*, viz. to show that while air or water might, conceivably, *by themselves* constitute sensory organs (a statement explicitly repeated in a different context, *De An.* III. 13 ; 435<sup>a</sup>, 16), earth or fire could in no wise do so, but must, so far as they enter into the constitution of the αἰσθητήρια, undergo some admixture with the other elements. The sentence, διὸ λείπουτ' αὖ . . . ἄερος, means that no ἀπλᾶ, or unmixed elements, except air or water—not earth or fire, therefore—could constitute sensory organs. Or, as Ziaja says : 'Können diese Worte (τῶν δ' ἀπλῶν . . . ὕδατος) dem Zusammenhange nach nur heissen : "Den Hauptbestandteil der Sinne bilden nur zwei Elemente, Luft und Wasser."' But this makes nothing against the possibility of earth and fire being (when duly associated with the other elements) characteristically related to certain αἰσθητήρια, as here to τὸ ἀπτικόν and τὸ ὀσφραντικόν. For there is no force in Ziaja's attempt to distinguish τὴν ὀσφρησιν in <sup>b</sup>21 from τὸ ὀσφραντικόν : the analogy of the preceding clauses, and the argument of the succeeding, imperatively demand that we should identify them. So Bonitz (*Lex. sub voc.*) does, though with some hesitation. Thus the inconsistency with the passages of the *De Anima* is greatly reduced.

In the passage before us the argument for the proposition ἡ ὀσφρησις πυρός rests on the general principle that each organ of sense possesses *potentially* the same nature which its correlative object possesses *actually* (the object acting upon and realizing the potentiality of the organ, so that, at

the moment of conscious perception, object and organ are qualified alike), combined with the statement ἡ ὁσμὴ καπνώδης τίς ἐστὶν ἀναθυμίασις. In ch. v. (443<sup>a</sup>, 21, *seqq.*) this statement is sharply criticised, if not, as Baeumker thinks, altogether rejected. Neuhaeuser, however, disagrees with him. Of the statement in question the latter says:— 'Indessen wird sich zeigen, dass sie mit einer gewissen Modification auch von der eigenen Meinung des Aristoteles nicht gar zu weit absteht' (Aristoteles' *Lehre*, &c., p. 22). I cannot now reproduce Neuhaeuser's reasons for this assertion, and, as I think it needless to add to them, I must be content to refer my reader to his pages. It is to be observed that in ch. v. we find Aristotle implicitly repeating the assertion here made of the association between ὁσφρησις and πῦρ. For in 444<sup>a</sup>, 24 we read:—ἡ γὰρ τῆς ὁσμῆς δύναμις θερμὴ τὴν φύσιν ἐστί.

On the whole, as Alexander evidently read εἰ before δεῖ, this is probably correct, but we must not, with Baeumker and Neuhaeuser treat this particle as indicating that Aristotle argues, from premisses not his own, for a conclusion with which he does not agree. There should then be a comma, instead of a full stop, after στοιχείων.

438<sup>b</sup>, 23:—

ὥσθ' ὑπάρχειν ἀνάγκη αὐτὴν [τὴν αἴσθησιν] δυνάμει πρότερον.

It appears that the δ of two MSS., before δυνάμει, must be accepted. The required sense is not that 'αἴσθησις must *exist* potentially before it exists actually' (though this is true), but that 'it must, from the first, *possess the quality* which exists potentially prior to the moment of perception.' For as the actualized αἴσθησις possesses the actual quality of its αἰσθητόν, so the potential αἴσθησις (τὸ ὁσφραντικόν) possesses the potential quality of the αἰσθητόν, which is prior to the actual. Hence, δυνάμει θερμὸν τὸ ὁσφραντικόν.

439<sup>b</sup>, 25, *seqq.* :—

Ἔστι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὑπολαβεῖν πλείους εἶναι χροάς παρὰ τὸ λευκὸν καὶ τὸ μέλαν, πολλὰς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ· τρία γὰρ πρὸς δύο, καὶ τρία πρὸς τέτταρα, καὶ κατ' ἄλλους ἀριθμοὺς ἔστι παρ' ἄλληλα κείσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὅλως κατὰ μὲν λογὸν μηδένα, καθ' ὑπεροχὴν δὲ τινα καὶ ἔλλειψιν ἀσύμμετρον, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ἔχειν ταῦτα ταῖς συμφωνίαις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς εὐλογίστοις χρώματα, καθάπερ ἐκεῖ τὰς συμφωνίας, τὰ ἥδιστα τῶν χρωμάτων εἶναι δοκοῦντα, οἷον τὸ ἀλουργὸν καὶ φοινικοῦν καὶ ὀλίγ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, δι' ἣνπερ αἰτίαν καὶ αἱ συμφωνίαι ὀλίγαι, τὰ δὲ μὴ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς τᾶλλα χρώματα, ἣ καὶ πάσας τὰς χροάς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς εἶναι, τὰς μὲν τεταγμένας, τὰς δὲ ἀτάκτους καὶ αὐτὰς ταύτας, ὅταν μὴ καθαραὶ ᾖσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς εἶναι τοιαύτας γίνεσθαι.

Here Aristotle states what he considers a possible theory of the origin of different colours from the primary black and white, by the juxtaposition in varying proportions of invisibly small blacks and whites; and he illustrates this by the theory of the combination of sounds; conjecturing, further, that the production of pleasing colours may be analogous to that of pleasing chords, as based upon, or involving, numerically definite ratios between the components in both cases. 'Or (he concludes) we may conceive *all* the various colours as *involving numerical ratios* between their component blacks and whites, some, however, determinate in ratio and some indeterminate, and suppose that colours, when they are not *καθαραί*, derive this quality (*τοιαύτας γίνεσθαι*) from their *not involving numerical ratios*.' Here there is a contradiction: for the hypothesis is that all colours really involve such ratios, only that while some are *τεταγμέναι*, others are *ἀτακτοί*. We must read *τοιούτοις* before *τοιαύτας*. The *χροαί* are not *καθαραί*, when the *ἀριθμοί* which they involve are not *καθαροί*, *i.e.* not *definitely calculable*. Aristotle's meaning may be stated at length as follows:—It occurs to him that all combinations whatever of blacks

and whites must involve in each case a certain number of whites and a certain number of blacks. But, as he goes on to say, if the colours resulting from the combinations are to be *pleasing*, the numbers they involve must be *calculable*, or capable of being numerically defined. In Acoustics every combination of sounds involves the composition of certain vibration frequencies: of this there can be no doubt: but only in comparatively few cases are the proportions between the combined elements *calculable*, and only in these cases is the result pleasing. Thus, in the octave the *συμφωνία* is the product of a *φωνή* involving vibration-frequencies of  $n$  per second combined with another *φωνή* involving those of  $2n$  per second. Now when the numbers which form the terms of a *λόγος* or proportion can be thus definitely stated, they are said to be *καθαροί*: to be cleared up. When a bank account is balanced, *i.e.* when the arithmetical relation between the credit and the debit sides has been determined, this account is said to be exactly calculable or calculated—the proper expression being *καθαράι αἱ ψῆφοι* (cf. Dem. 303).<sup>1</sup> Similarly here when the ratio of the blacks and whites (which, doubtless, has always at its basis *certain* numerical totals) is such as can be determinately formulated (as in musical chords), the numbers involved are *καθαροί* (or clear), and their representative colour also is *καθαρόν*

<sup>1</sup> In this passage Dr. Blass (whom I mention with all the honour due to such a scholar) reads—*ἀν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μὴδὲν περιῇ*. But the sense, at least, of the formerly accepted *ὅν καθαράι ὄσιν αἱ ψῆφοι* is beyond question, viz., 'Just as . . . whenever you proceed to a *λογισμός*, if the account has been *balanced*, and nothing found to his credit, &c.' The *καθαριότης* consists not in the fact of the opposite amounts *cancelling* (*ἀνταρλεῖν*)

one another, which they may or may not do, but in the fact that the state of the figures on both sides is arithmetically *clear*, this 'clearness' being the *conditio sine qua non* of the *λογισμός*. The tense of *καθαίρῶσιν* is against it: we want an aorist, as in the corresponding phrase of Aeschines, *ἐπειδὴν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῇ*; and *ὄσιν* in the old reading *ὅς* virtually an aorist. So too is *περιῇ*, its co-ordinate.

(or pure). It is not necessary to ask whether Aristotle had actually calculated the components of any colours. He had not: but he had a strong faith in the analogy (in whatever terms expressed) between the spectrum and the scale. On this faith in the possibility of a calculation not yet made, his present hypothesis is based. He therefore speaks of certain colour-ratios as calculable in contradistinction to others which are not so, neglecting or forgetting that no ratios in the composition of colours—whether agreeable or not—had as yet been definitely made out: that no one had done for the spectrum what Pythagoras did for the scale. The propriety of reading *τοιούτοις*, to go with *ἀριθμοῖς*, is manifest from the above considerations, while the need of emendation is equally manifest from the fact that the received text makes the sentence self-contradictory. How easily *τοιούτοις* may have been lost before *τοιούτας* is obvious. Alexander's text contains no positive evidence that he read *τοιούτοις*. His interpretation of *μὴ καθαρά* seems incorrect. He explains thus:—'By *μὴ καθαρά* Aristotle must mean juxtapositions of dissimilars (*μὴ ὁμολων*). For the resultants would be *καθαρά* if, for example, in the whole mixture-process, side by side with every two parts (of *e.g.* black) one part (of white) were placed; but not *καθαρά* if, in the course of one and the same mixture-process, we had one part of one opposite sometimes juxtaposed with two parts of the other, sometimes with three parts of the other, and sometimes with one.' Thus, he thinks, the impure colour would result from the combination, or juxtaposition, in the same colour of dissimilar, but still *definite*, ratios. If this were so, no doubt the difficulty of calculating the general ratio between the separately invisible blacks and whites would be increased: but its calculableness would appear to be established. Aristotle's point, however, is that the numbers which underlie the colours called impure—the

numbers of the particles of black and white, respectively, which enter into each such colour, and therefore the ratio of these numbers to one another, cannot ever be definitely made out. Similarly one might say a noise is an 'impure' sound, as being (unlike a *συμφωνία*) representative of no calculable ratio. There is doubtless, or would be from the Creator's point of view, *some* numerical ratio to express the relation between the *διάμετρος* and the *πλευρά* of a square, but this ratio is for human reason incapable of determinate arithmetical expression: it is an *ἄλογος λόγος*. Now if *φύσις* had mixed blacks and whites in a ratio equal to that between the diagonal and the side of a square, the resulting colour would be in this sense *ἐν ἀριθμοῖς*, but the *ἀριθμοί* would not be *καθαροί*, and the colour would not belong to the class called *καθαραὶ χροαί*. The qualitative impurity of the colour—another form of expression for its *ἀηδία*—would be the sensible correlative of its numerical 'impurity'—of the fact that it baffles men's powers of arithmetical analysis.

443<sup>b</sup>, 26 *seqq.* Aristotle has distinguished two *εἶδη* of odours. The first *εἶδος* depends for its agreeable or disagreeable qualities on its association with the taste of food: when we are hungry we find the smell of food agreeable: when we have satisfied our hunger the same smell is not agreeable, or is positively disagreeable. The second *εἶδος* consists of odours agreeable or disagreeable *per se*. He goes on:—

Αἱ δὲ καθ' αὐτὰς ἡδεῖαι τῶν ὀσμῶν εἰσὶν, οἷον αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον οὐδ' ἥττον πρὸς τὴν τροφήν παρακαλοῦσιν, οὐδὲ συμβάλλεται (*leg.* συμβάλλονται) πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τοῖναντίον μᾶλλον· ἀληθὲς γὰρ ὅπερ Εὐριπίδην σκώπτων εἶπε Στράττις [*Phoen.* I.]

ὅταν φακὴν ἔψητε μὴ 'πιχεῖν μύρον.

He condemns a practice which had come into vogue of seasoning meats with odours of the latter class: *βιάζονται*

τῇ συνηθείᾳ τὴν ἡδονὴν, ἕως ἂν ἐκ δὺ' αἰσθήσεων γένηται τὸ ἡδὺ ὥς ἐν καὶ ἀπὸ μιᾶς. Alexander, in his remarks upon the passage, informs us that Strattis, in the above verse, satirized Euripides ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐπῶν ἀκαιρίᾳ, *i.e.* for the want of tact said to characterise his dramatic genius. The latter, owing to his love of moralizing, very often introduces philosophic sentiments unseasonably, or without due regard to situation and circumstances. Many of his choral odes seem to have no other purpose than the gratification of this tendency. He also shows his ἀκαιρία by assigning reflections on life and morals to speakers with whose condition such reflections are utterly incongruous. He makes not only Hecuba, but even Phaedra's nurse, talk philosophy. The μύρον in Strattis' verse might stand for the philosophy: the φακῇ—plain, homely, fare—for the person whom it would be dramatically improper to represent on the stage as a philosopher. This verse of Strattis became a popular *mot*, and was quoted in reference to incongruous associations generally. If two heterogeneous things, the one useful, the other merely *de luxe*, were brought into mutual connexion, someone was ready to exclaim τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον (attar of roses with porridge)! So in Cicero ad Att. I. 19 we read:—Legati sunt Q. Metellus Creticus et L. Flaccus, et τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον, Lentulus, Clodiani filius. Here the thought present to Cicero's mind was chiefly that of the *incongruity* of associating Lentulus with the other two, and the desire for the evident pun on φακῇ and the name Lentulus would leave him little time for examining into the detailed propriety of the exclamation. But if we may suppose that he used the proverb with propriety, he must have regarded the association of Lentulus with Metellus and Flaccus as that of one who, from character or habits, was but poorly qualified to co-operate with them, or promote the object of their common commission. As a Clodiani

filius we may suppose him to have been a man of fashion rather than of business, and unsuited to take part in the very difficult diplomatic service on which all three were despatched. This explanation does not render it necessary to give up the pun. Though Cicero's exclamation now appears logically less apposite, still its humorous, or ludicrous, effect is undiminished, if not indeed actually heightened. The pun would represent Lentulus as the φακῆ: sober sense would represent him as the μύρον. But however this may be, Cicero, like other men, punned with but little regard for logic. Liddell and Scott's interpretation 'of pains thrown away,' is quite beside the mark: as is also the interpretation of Suidas. That the central thought expressed by the phrase relates to an unnatural combination of incongruous things or persons appears plainly from the present passage of Aristotle, and, still more plainly, from the commentary of Alexander.

JOHN I. BEARE.



THE HOMERIC HYMNS.<sup>1</sup>

IT was a highly commendable project of the late Professor Goodwin to bring out an edition of the Homeric Hymns. Before his premature and lamented death, in 1892 when only two-and-forty years of age, he had carried on the work of collation of MSS. for some years, but of his critical labours nothing remains except notes to the fragment of the Hymn to Dionysus, to verses 1-250 and 379-501 of the Hymn to Demeter, and to the first 24 lines of the Hymn to Apollo. No part of his projected commentary has been found. The edition, therefore, in its present form, is mainly due to the late Professor's pupil and friend, Mr. T. W. Allen, who tells us that he has carried out the method of Professor Goodwin, so far as he had left any indication of it. We own that we hardly understand the method, as will be seen from the ensuing remarks; but we feel much admiration for the scholarship, as well as the industry, displayed in Mr. Allen's work.

The Hymns deserve to be far better known in England. They have attracted more attention abroad. But neither in England nor on the Continent has an edition been produced which can be said really to offer a text which is throughout translatable, or a commentary which gives even a theory as to the meaning of every passage. Till

<sup>1</sup> *Hymni Homerici codicibus denuo, Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano. collatis recensuit Alfredus Goodwin MDCCCXCIII. cum quattuor tabulis photographiis*

Baumeister's edition appeared in 1860 the text was in a state of chaos. But though Baumeister's text is construable in hundreds of places where before his time there was merely a fortuitous concourse of words, there was no very successful attempt to grapple with the many and great difficulties of interpretation till the appearance of Dr. Albert Gemoll's admirable edition of 1886, in which he included the most valuable of the views of E. Abel, published earlier in the same year. In his Preface Dr. Gemoll makes the following boast :—' Der Leser wird auf den ersten Blick bemerken, dass der eingeklammerten Verse hier viel weniger sind, und dass die Unzahl der Lücken fast ganz verschwunden ist.' This is quite true ; but while, on the one hand, we gladly welcome the resolution of the editor who boldly addresses himself to the task of trying to emend, and does not content himself with mere obelising, on the other we believe that the only theory on which we can account for the present condition of the text is the assumption that *lacunae* constantly interrupt the narrative. These *lacunae* can, of course, never be filled up until we light on some MS. descended from another archetype ; for, as they disfigure all our present MSS., they must have existed in the archetype itself. The emendation of a corrupt passage, even without further light from MSS., is never absolutely impossible. But to mark a *lacuna* is, in these hymns, unfortunately too often the only resource of a judicious editor, and to suppress the mark of it is only to try to persuade ourselves and the reader that we have a consecutive narrative where we have not. This is what we should expect to see in a really helpful edition of the Hymns, more marks of *lacuna* and less *obeli* than in earlier editions. This is what we do not find in the work now before us. The marks of *lacuna* are very few, even in places where there clearly does not exist a consecutive narrative, and the *obeli* are so numerous that the text is

almost a reversion to the pre-Baumeisterian or chaotic type. We give a few illustrations of this criticism. In *Herm.* 48 the editor prints

πειρήνας διὰ νῶτα †διὰ ῥίνιοιο χελώνης,

not mentioning in the footnote Pierson's λιθορρίνιοιο or Schmidt's ταλαρρίνιοιο. Surely the student would have been better served if he had printed either of these excellent conjectures in the text, adding the corrupt reading of the MSS. and the other conjecture in the note. In the same hymn, 152, we find

σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὅμοις εἰλυμένος, ἥντε τέκνον  
νήπιον, ἐν παλάμῃσι †περιγνύσι λαΐφος ἀθύρων,

without any reference to A. Ludwich's excellent conjecture,

ἣν πάλλῃσι παρ' ἰγνύσι λαΐφος ἀθύρων,

though the footnote tells us that παρ' ἰγνύσι is found in the Parisian family.

In 240-2 the infant Hermes is described as counterfeiting sleep while really awake, and drawing himself up into a cosy bundle, head, hands and knees all together, like a baby put to sleep after its bath, while he holds under his arm the shell of the tortoise, which he has fashioned into a lyre. The ingenuity of Hermann and Martin has presented us with a text which excellently conveys that description—

ἐν δ' ὀλίγῃ συνέλασσε κάρη χεῖράς τε πόδας τε,  
φή ῥα νεόλλοντος, προκαλούμενος ἥδυμον ὕπνον,  
ἐγρήσσω ἐτεόν γε, χέλυν δ' ὑπὸ μασχάλῃ εἶχεν.

It is hard to see what is gained by presenting the passage thus—

†δὴ ῥα νεόλλοντος, προκαλούμενος ἥδυμον ὕπνον  
†ἄγρης· ἐνέτεόν τε χέλυν ὑπὸ μασχάλῃ εἶχεν,

with the note 'ἐγρήσσω coni. Martin.'

But the most signal instance of a perfect conjecture unrecognized is in the hymn to Aphrodite, 250, where the goddess says she will no longer be able to boast among the immortals of her universal sway over the gods, since she has herself yielded to the embraces of a mortal man, Anchises. This is thus found in the MSS., and is thus given in Goodwin's edition—

νῦν δὲ δὴ οὐκέτι μοι ἴστοναχίσεται ἐξονομήναι  
τοῦτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισι.

It seems singular that an editor who doubtless remembered the Homeric phrase ὅσον κεφαλὴ χάδε φωτός should feel unable to accept Martin's emendation, στόμα χείσεται, for the utterly unmeaning στοναχίσεται. 'My mouth will not be big enough to utter' seems a perfectly epic way of expressing the thought, 'I shall not be so presumptuous as to say.' Gemoll strangely accepts Matthiae's στόμα τλήσεται, though there are no certain examples of the Attic correction before τλ in the Hymns; and moreover, the word is not nearly so suitable, and not so close to the MSS. He apparently takes χείσεται (or χήσεται) from χάσκω, and so finds an unsuitability in the verb, which is really χανδάνω. In dealing with the criticism of certain other passages these considerations will perhaps be somewhat enforced. We propose, therefore, now to go through the Hymns, noticing certain critical difficulties which they present, and occasionally attempting an answer to the riddles with which they abound. We follow the order of the Hymns (which is that of M) given in the present edition, adding the usual order in parenthesis.

## II. (V.)—HYMN TO DEMETER.

In the 13th verse the MSS. give—

κῶδῖς τ' ὀδυῖ πᾶς δ' οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθε  
γαῖα τε πᾶς' ἐγέλασσε καὶ ἄλμυρὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης.

Ruhnken conjectured—

κηώδει δ' ὀδμῇ πᾶς τ' οὐρανός.

We suggest—

κῶζ' ἥδιστ' ὀδμή (or κῶδῶδει τ' ὀδμή), πᾶς δ' οὐρανός.

Ruhnken's conjecture introduces a not quite suitable adjective in κηώδει. We shall see that the neglect of crasis has often misled the copyists. Crasis in Homer is limited (see Monro's *Homeric Grammar*, 377); but the writers of the hymns have used it far more largely. If Fick's theory of the Aeolic origin of these poems is right, κῶζε was originally written ὦσδε, like φροντίσδην, Sapph. 41 (37).

17. Νύσιον ἄμ πεδίον τῇ ὄρουσεν ἄναξ Πολυδέγμων.

Here we have a violation of the law universal in Greek poetry from Homer to Nonnus, that there must not be a trochaic caesura of the dactyl in the fourth foot. Crasis again comes to our aid. Probably the poet wrote—

τῇ ὄρουσ' ἄναξ Πολυδέγμων.

or, perhaps, we should omit Νύσιον as a gloss, and insert κρατερὸς after ἄναξ, as in 431.<sup>1</sup>

22. οὐδέ τις ἀθανάτων οὐδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
ἤκουσεν φωνῆς οὐδ' ἀγλαόκαρποι ἐλαῖαι.

Thus is the verse given by the Editor according to the MSS., without an obelus. Yet who can believe that any poet, not to speak of a Greek poet, could say that the cry

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sandys, in his masterly edition of the *Constitution of Athens*, has overlooked this law, first established, we believe, by H. A. J. Munro; he prefers, to other restorations of a certain hexameter, the verse—

Διφύλιον Ἀνθεμίων τήνδ' εἰκόν' ἔθηκε θεοῖσι.

as more rhythmical. The trochaic caesura makes the verse quite impossible. Of course εἰκόνα θῆκε would be an easy correction, but that involves a further departure from the MSS.

of the ravished Persephone was not heard 'by God or man or—the fine olive-trees'? We have no light on this verse in Goodwin's edition, and no obelus. There it stands. Her cry was not heard by God or man or the olive-trees, not elsewhere mentioned in the poem. Baumeister reads 'Ελειαι with Ilgen. Hailing from Ireland, we would gladly welcome the admission of 'bog-trotting' goddesses into the Hellenic pantheon; but, though we find Νύμφαι ελειονόμοι in Apollonius Rhodius (ii. 821), would not some substantive such as Νύμφαι be absolutely required? A mention of Demeter is certainly required. It seems not impossible that one of her many names might have been 'Ελαιώ or 'Ελαίη. The title would not be unsuitable for the goddess of Eleusis, derived, as it would be, from Athens' greatest boast, the olive-tree. One recalls the parabasis of the Acharnians where Aristophanes declares—

'If some flatterer said *land of oil*, there was nought you'd  
refuse him, I ween,  
Though he gave you a title more fit for the praise of a  
potted sardine.'

But if it should seem too daring to read οὐδ' ἀγλαόκαρπος 'Ελαιώ, then, remembering that ἀγλαόκαρπος is a traditional epithet of Demeter, we should be disposed to read ἤκουσεν (or rather ἤκουσ' αὖν) φωνήν οὐδ' ἀγλαόκαρπος ἐλεινήν, comparing 284—

τοῦ δὲ κασίγνηται φωνήν ἐσάκουσαν ἐλεινήν,

and fortifying the description of Demeter as 'The Fruitful one,' by pointing to Πολυδέγμων and Πολυδέκτης as similar descriptive titles of Pluto in this hymn. Gemoll has suggested ἐλεινήν. There would be no *metrical* objection to reading οὐδ' ἀγλαόκαρπος Δηώ, for we find in 204—

μειδῆσαι γελάσαι τε καὶ ἴλαον σχεῖν θυμόν.

In 35—

ἔτι δ' ἤλπετο μητέρα κεδνὴν  
ὄψεσθαι,

there is no difficulty if we regard *μητέρα* as the accus. before, not after *ὄψεσθαι*.

There is certainly a lacuna after 57, where Hecate assures Demeter that she has not seen Persephone or her ravisher, but only heard her scream. As the text stands, the words run thus—

57. φωνῆς γὰρ ἤκουσ', ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν  
ὅστις ἔην· σοὶ δ' ὦκα λέγω νημερτέα πάντα.

These are the words of Hecate in answer to Demeter. We then read that Demeter, without even answering Hecate, went straight to the sun god. Surely we should read after 57 some verse like others found in this hymn—some verse such as

Ἥελιος δ' ἴδεν οἶος ἀναξ' Ὑπερίονος νιός,

or

Ἥελιος δ' ἄρ' ὅπωπε θεῶν σκοπὸς ἥδ' καὶ ἀνδρῶν,

and *λέγω* should be corrected to *λέγοι* (which could be either the opt. proper or the potential opt.) in the next verse. Hecate must have referred Demeter to the sun god for information about her lost daughter.

In 64—

Ἥέλι' αἰδεσσαί με θεάς ὕπερ,

it is impossible to believe, with Hermann, that *θεάς ὕπερ* means 'by looking for (my daughter).' But when the Editor printed Ludwick's *θεὰν σύ περ*, we think he overlooked a better conjecture, Ilgen's *Θέας ὕπερ*, 'in the name of your mother Thea' (I adjure you).

In 99—

Παρθενίῳ φρέατι ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται,

one is at first sight disposed to read *φρέατι Παρθενίῳ*, but

we find quite as large an employment of the epic license to lengthen a short vowel in arsis in 248,

τέκνον Δημοφῶν, ξείνῃ σε πυρὶ ἐνὶ πολλῷ.

In 211 a reading, originally suggested by Voss, has maintained its place unquestioned, yet it is completely unjustified by palaeographic considerations. Metanassa has poured out a cup of wine for Demeter, which she refuses, but asks Metanassa to make her a posset (κυκεῶ) of meal-water and penny-royal. Metanassa makes the posset and gives it to the goddess, and thus the narrative proceeds according to the MSS.

ἡ δὲ κυκεῶ τεύξασα θεᾷ πόρεν, ὡς ἐκέλευε·  
δεξαμένη δ' ὁσίης ἔνεκεν πολυπότνια Διῷ.

There the sentence ends, so ἔνεκεν is impossible, unless we read ὁσίης ἔνεκεν πίε with Bücheler, or mark a *lacuna*. But the accepted emendation is that of Voss, ὁσίης ἐπέβη. It is quite true that such a phrase occurs elsewhere (*Herm.* 166, 173; *Hes. Th.* 396), but in those places it is given by the MSS., and it affords a good sense. Here neither of these conditions is satisfied. The MSS. read ἔνεκεν, not ἐπέβη, and the sense given by ἐπέβη is poor. 'Sacri honoris compos est facta *vel* sacro honore frui coepit,' writes Ruhnken, but neither of these interpretations lies in the words, nor can they convey the sense which Gemoll attributes to them, namely, 'when the goddess drank the posset she then and there ordained the rite of libation.' It seems to us that we should read ἐνέχεεν for ἔνεκεν, and πολὺ πότνια for πολυπότνια. Demeter received the posset from Metanassa, and poured a large draught into the cup, from which she was to drink it; or, perhaps, ἐνέχεεν merely means 'she poured a libation of it,' as in *Ar. Pac.* 1102. Of course ὁσίης must be corrected to ὁσίως, but that is a much smaller change. For the synizesis in ἐνέχεεν, compare κυκεῶ in the foregoing verse, τοκῆες in 137, and ἄνθεα in 426, all scanned as dissyllables.



229. οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐπηλυσίη δηλήσεται †οὐθ' ὑποταμνόν·  
οἶδα γὰρ ἀντίτομον μέγα φέρτερον ὑλοτόμοιο.

It is hard to see why ὑποταμνόν should be obelised and the absolutely unmeaning ὑλοτόμοιο should escape that *nota*. In the first volume of HERMATHENA, p. 142, Davies suggested for the latter word οὐλοτόμοιο, 'gum cutting,' from οὔλα, 'gums.' Demeter, according to him, says that she has a fine remedy for a baby's pains in teething, and ὑποταμνόν means 'the tooth's cutting upwards through the gum.' These words, however, are very strangely formed if they denote a process, and unintelligible if they do not. Curiously enough Voss suggested οὐλοτόμοιο, but explained it in a different sense, as *herba ad perniciem excisa*. Hermann, accepting it, explained it as *herba penitus excisa*, contrasted with ὑποταμνόν *cuius aliquid recisum est*.

In 256, for ἀφράδμονες, should be read φράδμονες (Bücheler): cp. Orph. frag. 32, 8,

οὔτε κακοῖο προσερχομένοιο νοῆσαι  
φράδμονες οὐτ' ἄποθεν μάλ' ἀποστρέψαι κακότητος.

In 262, Huschke excellently restores γῆρας for κῆρας, comparing Ap. Rhod. iv. 874.

In 269,

εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ τιμάοχος ἢ τε μέγιστον  
ἀθανάτων θνητοῖσιν ὄνειαρ καὶ χάρμα τέτυκται,

it is possible that we have another overlooked crasis. At all events, Ruhnken's ὄνειαρ χάρμα τ' ἐτύχθη is an example of an unscientific method rare in the work of that great scholar. A word, ἄρμα, 'food,' is cited from Hippocrates (the same word is said to have meant love in the Delphic dialect), and it seems not impossible, in the absence of evidence for ὄνειαρ or ὄναρ = ὄνειαρ, that the writer of this hymn, who seems to have been late, and was certainly learned, wrote κάρμα.

There are several signs of late authorship in this hymn.

Among them are λιμός, fem. in 311, a usage of Callimachus and the Anthology; the post-Homeric expressions, θεῶν οὐρανίων in 55, ἐπηρτύνοντο in 128, τιμῆς, 'price,' in 132, ἀφήλικος, which Moeris calls an Attic form, as well as χλεύη for γέλως in 202. Again, ζυγός, in the sense of 'yoke' (217), is not found before Callimachus, θυσίαισι (368) is an Attic form, νωμήσας used absolutely (373) in the sense of παπτήνας is unhomeric, and παύσειε intrans. in 351 is hellenistic. Finally, we would quote an excellent remark of the Editor on the style of this hymn, a remark with which we entirely concur: 'Ceterum compositionem illam καὶ . . . καὶ versus 397 ut ab omni sermone epicorum alienam (videris Ebelingii lexicon, p. 618) recte forsan vetustioris epicae poeseos ratione habita editores iudicaverint, *ita huic hymno non absonam esse facile quis concedat.*' We may remark that his restoration of the mutilated passage, 388-389, shows fine scholarship, and quite surpasses all the German attempts, a result for which one is prepared when one remembers that such a restoration is really an exercise in Greek verse composition, an art which is neglected in Germany, but cultivated most successfully in England, and which (if not actually essential) is far more useful in the emendation of the ancient poets than continental scholars imagine.

When the goddess resigns her ministrations as nurse, the infant feels the inferiority of those who endeavour to take her place (291),

τοῦ δ' οὐ μελίσσεται θυμός·  
χειρότεραι γὰρ δὴ μιν ἔχον τροφοὶ ἢ δὲ τιθήναι.

This verse is quite possibly right; but would not the poet more probably have written ἢ δὲ τιθήνη? Demeter had been the infant's nurse, τιθήνη; his sisters, who succeeded her, were volunteer caretakers, τροφoί.

344, 345. πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένη μητρὸς πόθῳ ἢ δ' ἔπ' ἀτλήτων  
 †ἔργοις θεῶν μακάρων μητίσσετο βουλῇ.

Comparing Hymn to Apollo 322, we would propose—

ἢ δ' ἔτ' (or ἐπ' as in ἐπ' ἀρωγῇ, Ψ 574) ἀπλήτοις  
 (or ἀπλήστοις)

ὀργαῖς νόσφι θεῶν μακάρων μητίσσετο βουλῇν,

‘Demeter, still in sore wrath, brooded o’er her plans (what course she should take) aloof from the gods.’ We meet ὀργαῖς plural in 205 of this hymn: cp. ἀς ἔχεις ὀργὰς ἄφες, Aesch. Pr. 315; ὀργή is not found either in the singular or the plural in Homer, who always uses θυμός. We should rather have expected some verse like

ἢ δ' ἔτ' ἀπλητον  
 μῆνιεν, οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων μετεείσατο βουλῇν,

comparing verses 94 and 303 of this hymn, in which she is said to have held aloof from the assembly of the gods.

### III. (I.)—HYMN TO APOLLO.

On verse 59 Gemoll mentions an ingenious explanation of the *vox nihili* περιτας, which appears in E. It is that it stands for περι τὰ σ', and means ‘here is a lacuna of about six letters.’

In 104 the editor gives without obelus—

χρυσείοισι λίνοισιν ἐερμένον (libri ἐεργμένον),

a reading which we cannot understand, and does not mention Barnes’s

χρύσειον ἡλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον,

which, if not certain, is certainly better than most of the conjectures recorded in the foot-notes.

142. ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἡλάσκαζες.

This seems hardly possible. We may defend νήσους ἡλάσκαζες by στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις, 175, but ἀνέρας ἡλάσκαζες

is not Greek for 'you wandered among men.' We might read *νήσους καὶ ἀν' ἀνέρας*, or *ἀν νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας*.

314. *ὥς ἔμ' ἀτιμάξαν ἄρχει νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς  
πρῶτος ἐπεὶ μ' ἄλοχον ποιήσατο κέδν' εἰδυῖαν.*

Surely we should read *πρῶτον*, 'for the first time,' as is shown by the succeeding *ἐπεὶ*, which bears here the sense of *ex quo*, not of *quoniam*.

529. *οὔτε τρυγηφόρος ἦδε γ' ἐπήρατος οὔτ' εὐλείμων.*

Thus is this verse given according to the MSS. by the edition before us and by most editors. Yet it contains three defects—the ellipse of *γῆ*, the presence of *γ'*, and the superfluosness of *ἐπήρατος*. The two worst of these defects would be removed by reading

*οὔτε τρυγηφόρος ἦδ' οὔτ' ἥροτος οὔτ' εὐλείμων.*

For the ellipse of *γῆ* cp. *ἀ δὲ σὲ γειναμένα* in Eur. *Trö.* 825. *Ἥροτος* would have been inferred from *ἀνήροτος*.

At the end of the hymn (538) is a passage which is usually abandoned as hopeless—

*ιὴν δὲ προφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων  
ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων †καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθύν τε μάλιστα.*

The god is addressing his votaries, and enjoining the observance of rites in his honour. We believe that under *ἰθύν τε* is hidden another perf. pass. imper., and the verse might have run

*κατ' ἐμὴν δ' ἰθύνθε μάλ' ἰθύν,*

or (to borrow a word used in 114)—

*κατ' ἐμὸν δ' ἰθύνθε μάλ' ἰθμα.*

#### IV. (III.)—HYMN TO HERMES.

In 14, where Hermes is described as

*ληιστῆρ', ἐλατῆρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων,*

Gemoll is certainly not justified in the violent change of

ὀνείρων into φωρῶν. A title of Hermes was Ὀνειρος: cp. *Hymnus Magicus in Mercurium* (see Bruchmann's Lexicon):

Μοιρῶν προγνώστης σὺν λέγῃ καὶ θεῖος Ὀνειρος,  
ἡμερίνους χρησμούς καὶ νυκτερίνους ἐπιπέμπων.

Read ἡγήτορ', ὕνειρον, regarding ἡγήτορα as ψυχοπομπόν, or ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων = τὸν ἐπιπέμποντα ὀνείρους.

In 33 there is, as it seems to us, room for a certain conjecture, though, strange to say, the needfulness of a correction has not struck any of the editors. Hermes, addressing the tortoise out of whose shell he afterwards fashioned the lyre, exclaims—

πόθεν τόδε, καλὸν ἄθυρμα,  
αἰόλον ὄστρακον ἐσσί, χέλυσ ὄρεσι ζῶουσα;

But 'how came it that you are a shell?' is unmeaning. Read ἔσσο. The tortoise was not the shell much more than a man is his great-coat. One is reminded of the joke ascribed to Mr. Gilbert when, in reply to 'you wear a great-coat?' he said, 'No, I never was.' But 'thou art clothed with this shell' at once recalls the λάϊνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα of Γ. 57.

When Tennyson wrote

'As when a great thought strikes along the brain,  
And flushes all the cheek,'

we wonder had he before his mind a passage in this hymn which might well have suggested it—

ὥς δ' ὅπότε ὦκὺ νόημα διὰ στέρνοιο περήσῃ  
ἀνέρος ὄντε θαμειαὶ ἐπιστρωφῶσι μέριμναι,  
ὥς δ' ὅτε δινηθῶσιν ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμαρνήαι.

A difficult passage, 79-86, describes how Hermes tied branches of tamarisk and myrtle under his feet, to obliterate the mark of his footsteps. The passage is full of corruptions, and labours under the fundamental error of alluding to a past adventure of the god in Pieria, though

Hermes is now only two days old, and the hymn has already related all the incidents of his career from his birth. Here is the passage, as given in Goodwin's edition :—

σάνδαλα δ' αὐτίκ' ἔριψεν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἀλήησιν,  
 †ἄφραστ' ἥδ' ἀνόητα διέκπλεκε θαυματὰ ἔργα,  
 συμμίσγων μυρίκας καὶ μυρσινοειδέας ὄζους.  
 τῶν τότε συνδήσας νεοθηλέος ἄγκαλον ὕλης,  
 ἀβλαβέως ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο σάνδαλα κοῦφα,  
 αὐτοῖσιν πετάλοισι τὰ κύδιμος Ἀργειφόντης  
 ἔσπασε Πιερίθην ὁδοιπορίην ἀλεείνων  
 οἷά τ' ἐπειγόμενος δολιχὴν ὁδὸν †αὐτοτροπήσας.

In 79 we read ἔραψεν with Matthiae and other editors. But πετάλοισι in 84 must be wrong. What need had Hermes for leaves under his feet in the Pierian adventure? What he wanted was wings, to save the trouble of walking home, after his long journey on foot. In the hymn he is obliged to walk after the stolen cows. We propose to read *πτίλοισι* for πετάλοισι. He wraps leaves and twigs round his feet to obliterate his spoor, and puts them on over his sandals, 'wings and all' (αὐτοῖσι πτίλοισι), having now no use for the wings. The whole passage may have run thus :—

σάνδαλα δ' αὐτίκ' ἔραψεν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἀλήησιν,  
 [κἄφραστ' ἥδ' ἀνόητα διέκπλεκε θαυματὰ ἔργα],  
 συμμίσγων μυρίκας καὶ μυρσινοειδέας ὄζους  
 τῶν τότε, συνδήσας νεοθηλέος ἄγκαλον ὕλης  
 ἀβλαβέως ὑπὸ ποσσὶ δ' ἐδήσατο σάνδαλα κοῦφα  
 αὐτοῖσι πτίλοισι, τὰ κύδιμος Ἀργειφόντης  
 ἔσπασε Πιερίθην ὁδοιπορίην ἀλεείνων,  
 οἰκάδ' ἐπειγόμενος δολιχὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοπορήσας.

The passage clearly shows that the leaves which Hermes required were picked up there and then, and could not have been used in a former adventure. The ἀπαξ εἰρημένον diminutive πτίλοισι was wrongly written πετάλοισι, a word which was before the minds of the copyists.

Not knowing the story of the Pierian adventure, we can only conjecture that it accounted for the *talaria*, *πέδιλα*, which were peculiar to Hermes, and which are here called *πτιλία*. The word *αὐτοπόρος* is used by Nonnus for a traveller on foot, and Aristophanes, *Ranae* 23, makes Dionysus say—

αὐτὸς βαδίζω καὶ πονῶ τοῦτον δ' ὄχῳ,

‘I have all the fag of walking on foot, while I give this fellow a mount.’

In 106—

καὶ τὰς μὲν συνέλασεν ἐς αὔλιον ἀθρόας οὔσας,

we have the Aeolic shortening of *-ας* in *ἀθρόας*. Fick might claim this as evidence of his theory, that the hymns as well as the Homeric poems were originally written in Aeolic. But however that may be, we have the form here according to all the MSS. We believe that in another passage in this hymn an Aeolic form has led to the corruption of the text. The verse is 473—

τῶν νῦν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ σὲ παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν δεδάηκα.

Hermes is flattering Apollo, and enumerating the *ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ τιμάς*, which Apollo has received from Zeus. By reading *πιδ'* (*πιδά = μετὰ*) for *παῖδ'*, and *ἀφνειῶν* for *ἀφνειόν*, we gain an excellent sense, ‘with which gifts of my own knowledge I wot you are among those well provided.’ The gen. is the case which follows *ἀφνειός*, as in *χρυσοῖό τε ἐσθ' ἡτός τε*, *a.* 167. Possibly, as we shall see, we have another Aeolism surviving in 239.

159. † ἦ σὲ λαβόντα μεταξὺ κατ' ἄγχεα φηλητεύσειν.

Read

ἦ σε λόφων τὰ μεταξὺ κατ' ἄγχεα φηλητεύσειν,

‘rather than that you should be a freebooter in the dells between the hills.’ Compare XIX. 6—

ὅς πάντα λόφον νιφόεντα λέλογχε.

188.

ἐνθα γέροντα

κνώδαλον εὔρε νέμοντα παρέξ ὁδοῦ ἔρκος ἀλωῆς.

Borrowing κλώνας from Schneidewin (or, perhaps better, κλωνί'), we might give—

ἐνθα γέροντα

κλωνί' ἀνέυρεν ἀμῶντα παρέξ ὁδοῦ, ἔρκος ἀλωῆς,

'gathering sticks to make a wall for his vineyard.' The verb ἀμάω may be used in the sense of 'gathering in,' and seems appropriate here.

We cannot feel much confidence in ἄπαξ εἰρημένα formed so strangely as Prof. Ridgeway's νώδαλον, or Rossbach's κώδαλον.

Prof. Ridgeway's conjecture, ἀλέαινεν (in which he was anticipated by Ilgen), in 239, is tempting, but does not give the required sense, which is, 'curled himself up,' not 'warmed himself.'

Seeing that ἀλέεινεν is intransitive in *Ap. Rhod.* III. 650, we might possibly read ἀλέειν' ἐς ἑ αὐτόν, 'he shrank into himself,' or (if we might venture to assume that, in this verse, yet another Aeolism, ἐν = ἐς, has survived), ἀλέειν' ἐν ἑ αὐτόν, which would be in effect the reading of the MSS.

259.

ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γαίῃ

ἐρρήσεις, ὀλίγοισιν ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἡγεμονεύων.

This is generally changed to ὀλοοῖσιν (Bothe), or λυγροῖσιν (Ludwich), while ἡγ. gives place to ἡπεροπεύων. But the MSS. may be defended. Apollo threatens Hermes that, if he does not disclose the place where he has hidden the stolen cattle, he will hurl him to Tartarus, 'where you will come to naught, for all your primacy among little folk.' Hermes was only two days old when he stole Apollo's cattle. We find ὀλίγος περ ἑών applied to Hermes in 456. Such a phrase as ὀλίγοι ἄνδρες for 'little folk' would, of course, be impossible in formal poetry. But in



this hymn we have a sportive and half-comic use of the epic style. In the admirable passage, 262-277, in which Hermes replies to the threats of Apollo, there is much humour, as well as dramatic skill, in the childishness, mixed with cunning, with which the infant cattle-lifter defends himself:—

οὐκ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, οὐκ ἄλλον μῦθον ἄκουσα,  
οὐκ ἂν μηνύσαιμ', οὐκ ἂν μήνυτρον ἀροίμην,  
οὔτε βοῶν ἐλατῆρι, κραταιῷ φωτί ἔοικα . . .  
ἕπνος ἔμοιγε μέμλε καὶ ἡμετέρης γάλα μητρός,  
σπάργανά τ' ἄμφ' ὥμοισιν ἔχειν, καὶ θερμὰ λοετρά . . .  
χθῆς γενόμεν, ἀπαλοὶ δὲ πόδες, τρηχεῖα δ' ὑπὸ χθών.  
εἰ δὲ θέλεις πατὸς κεφαλὴν μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι·  
μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ὑπίσχομαι αἴτιος εἶναι,  
μήτε τιν' ἄλλον ὄπωπα βοῶν κλοπὸν ὑμετεράων,  
αἵτινες αἱ βοῆς εἰσὶ· τὸ δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούω.

In 280 there was no sufficient reason why the editor should print with an *obelus*

† ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ἀκούων,

nor why Baum. should conjecture ὑποσχών for ἀκούων. The words mean 'listening to his statement as if it were of no moment,' a sense which agrees well with the context.

In 315 we highly approve of the editor's conjecture of φωρὴν for φωνήν, and with Baumeister's correction of οὐκ ἀδίκως the passage runs very well—

ὁ μὲν νημερτέα φωρὴν

ἐκδεδαώς.

We think εὐμαρίη would be a better correction of τεὺμιλίη (325) than any which we have seen. In the next line ἄφθιτοι should probably be ἄφθονοι.

346. αὐτὸς δ' οὗτος ὃδ' ἐκτός.

Perhaps we have Dr. Verrall's word ἐκτός. We might then read οἷος δ' οὗτοι (or οὔτι as in 377) ὅδ' ἐκτός, 'he is the only one who can never be caught,' or 'stopped.'

The passage from 409-415 is very difficult, as is shown by the fact that the commentators are prettily evenly divided on the question whether Apollo bound Hermes or the cattle, and on the further question, what it was that Hermes desired to hide. Even Gemoll admits a *lacuna* after 413, but we can hardly avoid postulating another after 411. If both were supplied by a new *codex* we should probably find that first Apollo bound Hermes, and that then Hermes extricated himself, and managed to steal the cattle again. One thing seems clear, that for τ'άγνου, 410, we should read ἄγνου, 'of willow,' with Seiler and others.

436. βουφόνε, μηχανιώτα, †πονευμενε δαιτὸς ἐταῖρε  
· πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀντάξια τὰτα μέμηλας.

These are the words of Apollo to Hermes after he has been soothed by his harping. The verb μέμηλας is sustained by μέλησεν in 453, and should not be changed. We conjectured for the obelized part of the line μηχανέων ἀπονήμενε with some confidence, which was increased when we found from Gemoll's note that the same emendation had occurred to Waardenberg. However, it has not met with the approval of either Gemoll or the Oxford editor, who both give the corrupt text obelized.

In 461—

ἧ μὲν ἐγὼ σὲ  
κυδρὸν ἐν ἀθάνατοις καὶ ὄλβιον †ἡγεμονεύσω,

we suspect that we have a solitary instance of εἶσω transitive (we have εἶσομαι intrans. in *Ap. Rh.* ii. 807), and that we should read ἡγέμον' εἶσω.

The Hymn to Aphrodite, v. (iv.), is a charming poem, and has come down to us in a much less corrupt form than most of the hymns. We have already referred to Martin's palmary conjecture, στόμα χείσεται, in 252. Peppmüller, in *Philologus* xlvii., p. 1, has made some good suggestions; for instance, the transposition of 30 after 32, and the

reading *τάφος* for *ἔρος* in 91. We have, perhaps, a note of late authorship, or at least of a self-conscious art not found in very early poetry, in 113, where Aphrodite, in assuring Anchises that she is no goddess, but a Phrygian woman, thinks it necessary to add 'but I know your language as well as my own, for I had a Trojan nurse.'

In the Hymn to Pan, xix., we have an excellent example of *anagrammatismus* in 33—

†θάλε γὰρ πόθος ὑγρὸς ἐπελθὼν,

where Ruhnken corrected *θάλε* to *λάθε*.

The Hymn to the Moon, xxxii., presents a strange corruption in its first verse—

μήνην †ἀεῖδεν τανυσίπτερον ἔσπετε, Μοῦσαι.

Bothe's *εὐειδῇ* has been generally accepted, but it is too common a word to be likely to suffer corruption. Perhaps *δειελινῇν*, as she is called *ἑσπερίη* in line 11. The similarity in form of *ΑΔΑ* would account, to some extent, for the corruption.

In the Hymn to the Dioscouri, xxxiii., in line 15,

κύματα δ' ἑστόρεσαν λευκῆς ἀλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι  
ναύταις σήματα καλά, πόνον †σφισιν,

the last word has been corrected to *κρίσιν* (Baum.), and *λύσιν* (Abel), and Matthiae has proposed *πλόου σφισιν*. Perhaps *σχέσιν*, 'stop or check,' for *σφισιν*, would account better for the corruption on account of the rarity of the word and its resemblance to *σφισιν*. It is late in this sense, but probably the poem is quite late.

To estimate the edition as a whole, the type and paper leave nothing to be desired, and the Introduction gives some excellent facsimiles of leaves from M. The notes show good scholarship and judgment when the somewhat unintelligible method of the edition allows scope for the display of these qualities. Twenty-six MSS. have been

collated either by Professor Goodwin or Mr. Allen, whose admirably-written *Praefatio* gives a full account of them. Five of these are now collated for the first time. Of these five the most important are those styled Π, Γ, and Σ, but they flow from the same archetype as the generally recognised three families—(1) M, the Moscow Codex; (2) the Paris family; (3) E, L, D (Estensis, Laurentianus, and Ambrosianus). Hence they supply no *lacunae*, and throw little or no light on the most difficult and corrupt passages, while still depend for their elucidation on the critical insight of scholars, failing the discovery of some MS. descended from a new archetype.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

#### NOTE ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

##### II. 386.

bellator equus, longa quem frigida pace  
Terra iubat, brevis in laevos piger angitur orbes :  
Frena tamen dominumque velit si Martius aures  
Clamor et obliti rursus fragor impleat aeris.

This, writes Mr. Bury, is one of the most difficult passages in Valerius (HERMATHENA, No. xix., p. 400); I think it may be set right by writing BOVIS for *brevis* (with, of course, *iuvat*). The war-horse likes the long life of rest in a land dead cold with peace, and 'is forced into the awkward<sup>1</sup> circles of the ox,' *i.e.* is made to grind at the mill: but he wakes up from his lethargy at the sound of the trumpet.

<sup>1</sup> Or there may be some technical allusion in *laevos*: cp. *dextrarii equi*.

A. P.

M. BERGER'S HISTORY OF THE VULGATE.<sup>1</sup>

**M.** SAMUEL BERGER, whose previous labours on the history of the Vulgate are well known, has presented us, in this volume, with the fruits of a vast amount of labour. The period of which he treats particularly is that from Merovingian times to the end of the Carolingian period. It is necessary thus to begin, as it were, in the middle, as the period best known. To work back to the earlier history is a task of no small difficulty. The criticism of the Vulgate has to deal with a vast number of documents, which present examples of errors proceeding from the most various causes. In addition to the usual sources of errors in MSS., there are others arising from the fact that the text was a translation. Of variations arising from dogmatic motives, certainly the most remarkable is that affecting the fourth book of Esdras (which does not, however, belong to the authentic canon of the Vulgate). That book contains a passage in which prayers for the dead are decisively condemned. The passage was appealed to by Vigilantius, whose reference to it St. Jerome contemptuously ridiculed, pointing out that the book was not canonical, and adding that he himself had never read it. Influenced doubtless by this, an owner of Codex Sangermanensis simply cut out the leaf containing the passage, a lacuna of no less than 74 verses being thus created. The curious fact is that all the MSS. of this book known until recently, being 84 MSS., and of course all the

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers Siècles du Moyen Age. Par S. Berger, Mémoire Couronné par l'Institut. Paris, 1893. 8vo, pp. xxiv, 443.*

printed texts, followed this codex. The editors of St. Jerome's works naturally had some difficulty in appreciating Vigilantius' appeal to the book. The Oriental versions contain the missing passage, but it was not known to exist in any Latin MS. until Mr. Bensly discovered it in the Corbie MS., about twenty years ago. M. Berger mentions four others (three in Spain) in which it has been since found.

Mr. Bensly, by the way, gives a good instance from the same book of the substitution of the familiar for the unknown in the reading Nazareth substituted in one MS. for Arzareth. The latter is simply an imperfect transliteration of the Hebrew for 'a strange land.' I quote this as an illustration of Bengel's admirable, but invariably misquoted, maxim, 'Proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua.' This does not mean 'the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the easier,' which is an unsound rule, and involves a mistranslation of three out of the four words; but, the reading to which the scribe would be more prone is less likely to be the true one. It will be seen that 'proclivis scriptio' includes familiar combinations of words or letters, which may make the text more difficult to the reader, as, for example, 'non sum ihs' for 'non sum missus.' In the same note Mr. Bensly mentions a reading found in three MSS., which may serve as an illustration of the unsound rule just quoted, 'Et mulieres et heretici parient menstruatae monstra.' If the more difficult reading is to be preferred, certainly 'et heretici' should be genuine. But this is to wander from M. Berger.

M. Berger follows the geographical method, seeking to find the local origin of the different recensions. He finds that it was from without that the MSS. of the Vulgate text spread into Gaul, which long remained faithful to the ancient versions. The sources of these texts were Spain and Ireland. M. Berger follows these texts in their course

across the Roman world. The Visigothic texts entered Gaul by the South, ascended the Rhone to Lyons, and spread thence through the plains of the North. The missionary ardour of the Irish and their love of travel carried them to the confines of the Christian world, dispersing a great number of those admirable MSS. which Irish decorative art was alone able to produce. From Iona and Lindisfarne to Würzburg and St. Gall, and to Bobbio, the world was filled with Irish MSS. and Irish texts. St. Gall deserves special notice from the fact that it has preserved to the present day the library founded in the eighth and ninth centuries by its great masters, Wini-tharius and Hartmut. The latter was Abbot from 872 to 883. Of forty-one Biblical MSS. specified in a list compiled in his lifetime, probably in the latter year, thirty-one remain. Ten MSS. (13 vols.) are written or corrected by his own hand. His handwriting is very remarkable. There is, says M. Berger, nothing like it in the whole history of caligraphy. One MS. throws a curious light on his relations with his scribes. Two leaves are preserved at the end of the volume, which contain, line for line and letter for letter (without rubrics), in his own hand, the pattern for the scribe who has written the corresponding pages of the book. It is worth noticing that in this MS. there is a lacuna of sixteen verses (Eccles. ix. 1-16), owing to a change of hand, Hartmut himself having taken up the pen, so that, in spite of his care, he was responsible for this omission.

Up to the reign of Charlemagne the history of the Vulgate in France only shows disorder, furnishing indeed much that is of interest to the historian in the way of rare readings and old texts, but not acceptable to a Church which valued unity. Charlemagne desired to have correct and uniform copies, '*Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia, et*

libros catholicos bene emendatos ; quia saepe, dum bene aliquid Deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros, male rogant.' His desire was not met by the work of Theodulf, who collected in his margin all the various readings that he could find. The man who carried out the king's purpose was Alcuin. Purity of language was certainly a foremost object with Charlemagne, 'Non sumus passi nostris in diebus inter sacra officia inconsonantes perstreperere soloecismos.'

Alcuin's work was completed about 800, but up to the middle of the ninth century, and in remote places later, the texts were a mixture of good and bad, the old versions mingled with the Vulgate in extremest confusion. Even as to the order of the books, M. Berger has counted over two hundred varieties. The old texts were banished, but the succeeding centuries were centuries of mediocre texts, gradually becoming worse and worse, until in the thirteenth century the University of Paris (founded early in that century) found it necessary to seek for uniformity in the texts used by its teachers and its pupils. An English name again meets us in this connexion, that of Stephen Langton (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), one of the principal teachers of the University, who divided the Bible into chapters, and settled the order of the books as we now have it. From that time, however, inferior texts ruled, and in spite of the efforts of critics, such as Robert Stephens and Cardinal Carafa, the authorised text of to-day is, in essence, the Parisian text of the thirteenth century.

Amongst the many items of peculiar interest contained in M. Berger's volume, I may select one or two. The first relates to the recent discovery by a Belgian Benedictine, Dom G. Morin, of the Italian relationship of the Northumbrian MS., the Book of Lindisfarne. At the commencement of each Gospel is a list of feasts: those, no doubt, on



which lessons from this Gospel were read ; the calendar in fact, of the Church to which belonged the archetype of this MS.<sup>1</sup> Now, amongst these are the feasts of St. Januarius and of St. Vitus, and the dedication of the basilica of Stephen. St. Januarius, as everyone knows, is the great local saint of Naples. St. Vitus was also honoured there before his removal to St. Denis, and the cathedral of Naples was 'basilica Stephani.' There exists, moreover, an ancient Neapolitan calendar which agrees in all points with that in question. But what was the connexion between Naples and Northumbria? The answer is, that in 668 Theodore (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), and Hadrian, abbot of a Neapolitan monastery, were sent to England, with Benedict Biscop, to organize the Church. After his installation at Canterbury, Theodore visited the provinces, accompanied by Hadrian. Arriving at Lindisfarne, he wished to consecrate the (wooden) cathedral built by Bishop Aidan. Is it not probable that Hadrian, at the same time, may have presented some liturgical MSS. and MSS. of the Gospels? The Book of Lindisfarne was written early in the eighth century (as appears from a note in the book). The close resemblance of its caligraphy and art to those of our Book of Kells enable us to fix the date of the latter approximately to the middle or latter part of the same century. Closely allied to the Lindisfarne text is that of the great Codex Amiatinus (now in Florence), the best MS. of the Latin Bible, and the reader will hardly need to be reminded of the recent discovery by Commendatore De Rossi, completed by Dr. Hort, that this MS. was sent to Rome in 716 by Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow. An ancient Life of Ceolfrid informs us that the MS. he sent to Rome had been written under his direction

<sup>1</sup> Another Anglo-Saxon MS. of the ninth century in the British Museum has the same calendar, and seems to have been copied from this, although with important differences.

in England. The hand, however, appears to have been, if not Italian, that of an English disciple of the Italian scribes. Moreover, the first quaternion of the codex appears to be copied from a MS. of Cassiodorus, which Bede (who appears never to have been south of York) had himself seen. Cassiodorus was of the monastery of Vivarium in Calabria. This is another link between York and Italy. Once more, there is in Paris a MS. (that of Echternach) in an Anglo-Saxon hand of the eighth or ninth century, containing an Irish text, and decorated in the purest Irish style, which professes to be corrected from a copy belonging to Eugippius, a celebrated Neapolitan writer.

It is only lately that we have learned the existence of the school of caligraphy of Jarrow and Wearmouth, from which so many fine MSS. proceeded.

It need hardly be said that M. Berger's book is indispensable to the student of the Vulgate.

It may not be uninteresting if I take this opportunity of mentioning the varieties of order of the books of the New Testament in the MSS. in Trinity College. The Gospels always come first, and, except in the Antehieronymian version, in the usual order.

In seven the Epistles of St. Paul come before the Acts, but one of these has Colossians after Thessalonians, and one (44) has the spurious Ep. ad Laodicenses.

In two the Acts come after the Catholic Epistles.

In two the Pauline Epistles come after both the Acts and the Catholic Epistles. One of these, again, has Colossians after Thessalonians.

Two, the Book of Armagh and 53, have the order—Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, Pauline Epistles. Of these again, 53 has Colossians after Thessalonians, and the Book of Armagh has the spurious Ep. ad Laodicenses.

T. K. ABBOTT.

## PLAUTINA.

I HAVE just received (April 20, 1894) from Professor Georg Götz the fasciculus which completes the great edition of the plays of Plautus, set on foot by Loewe, Schöll, and himself, as Ritschl's literary heirs, twenty-five years ago. All scholars will join in congratulating the two surviving editors on the finishing of this truly *magnum opus*. The present fasciculus contains the *Cistellaria* edited by Schoell, with the *Fragmenta* edited by Goetz himself, both admirable pieces of work. The *Cistellaria* has less of the 'ludibunda manus' of Schoell than usual, and the critical notes, so far as I have observed, contain fewer, although still far too many, of those offensive obelisks with which Schoell loves to point the finger of scorn at suggestions of scholars which are behind the age; while the industry displayed by both editors, and the enormous amount of critical lore collected by them, are beyond praise. I make the following suggestions in the *Cistellaria* :—

373 *a, b* (Schoell).

Vos datóres

Negótioli bellíssumi, senicés, soletis ésse.

This is only preserved in two passages of Priscian. He quotes it once, iii. 38, expressly for the form *negotiolum*; the other time, vi. 94, for the inflexion *senicís* of *senex*. But in all the MSS. of Priscian the order of the words in both places is *datores bellissimi vos negotioli*. I think *negotioli* is wrong, and that *nepotuli* should be substituted for it. *Vos* alone needs transposition, or indeed, as it is not

wanted, it may be omitted. The sentiment is that amorous old men are lavish in their gifts (*donandi parca iuventus*)—

vos datóres  
Bellíssimi, *nepótuli senícti*, soletis ésse.

405 (Schoell).

Non quási nunc haec sunt híc limaces, lívidae,  
Febrículosae, míserae amículae, ósseae,  
Dióbolares, schoénículae, miráculae,  
Cum extrítis talis, cúm todillis crúsculis.

So this fragment is given by Schoell. *Todillis* is also accepted by Ussing. It is worth while examining the evidence for this curious word. It is illegible in A, the only MS. which contains the passage; for although Stude-mand cites *todellis cruribus* from A, with the letters *t* and *ll* doubtful, Schoell himself could only decipher *uribus* at the end of the verse.

1. Festus, Muller, p. 301, s. v., ‘succrotilla vox,’ cites this passage. He says ‘succrotilla vox’ is a ‘vox tenuis et alta,’ and he illustrates the word by appealing to this passage, which he cites from *Syr.*, supposed to be for *Syra*, and to be the old name of this play. ‘<Plautus in de> scribendis mulie<rum cruribus> gracilibus in *Syr.* talis cum sodellis cr. . . .’

2. Festus, p. 352, ‘Todi sunt <aves parvae pede exil> quarum m. Plautus in Sy. “. . . tis talis cum todillis crus . . .”’

3. Paulus, p. 353, has ‘todi genus avium parvarum. Plautus, “cum extortis talis cum todillis cruscus.”’

4. Paulus, p. 52, has ‘crocótilum valde exile. Plautus, “extortis talis cum crocotillis cruscus.”’

5. Priscian, 3. 29. has ‘crus, crusculum’; Plautus in *Cistellaria*, ‘cum extortis talis cum todinis cruscus.’

I do not see that anyone supposes that all these citations are not of one and the same passage. We therefore have the curious fact that the same passage is cited with at least four different readings of one word: *sodellis*, *todillis*, *crocotillis*, and *todinis*.

Even more extraordinary is the fact, that both Festus and Paulus cite the same passage twice as containing contradictory readings, Festus quoting the verse as containing *sodellis* and *todillis crusculis*; Paulus as containing *todillis crusculis* and *crocotillis crusculis*.

What is the solution? In my opinion it is that some word stood in the verse before *crusculis* which was capable of corruption into *crocotillis*, *todillis*, and *todinis*. To be brief, I propose to write the verse thus—

Cum extortis talis CROCODILINIS crusculis.

Crocodiles have very short twisted legs. Pliny says of them (II. 249): 'Priora genua post curvantur, posteriora in priorem partem. Sunt autem crura his obliqua humani pollicis modo.' This agrees remarkably well with *extortis talis*, which has much better support than *extritis*.

*Crocodilinis* would be corrupted in some MSS. to *codilinis*, then *codinis*, hence *todinis* of Priscian; in others to *crocodillis*; hence *crocotillis* and *todillis*.

Plautus is fond of adjectives in *-inus* derived from animals, and of applying them to bodily features. He has *miluinis ungulis*, *noctuinis oculis*, *aquilinis ungulis*: cf. also *pantherinus*, *cantherinus*, *clurinus* (? *aelurinus*). *Crocodilinus* seems from the same mint as these, and seems to me to account for the various corruptions of the verse before us.

I pass on to the *Fragmenta*, which are admirably edited by Goetz, whose uniform courtesy and moderation do not diminish the pleasure and profit which the reader derives from his learning and accuracy. The book would be worth

buying, if it were only for the fragments of the *Vidularia*, which have been deciphered in the Ambrosian by Studemund. These are now for the first time published with an edition of the whole of Plautus, although included by Winter in his edition of the *Fragmenta* a few years since. From these new fragments we are now able to make a tolerably certain guess as to the plot of the *Vidularia*. It was something like that of the *Rudens*, and chiefly differed from it in that it described the fortunes of a lost son, not a lost daughter. Nicodemus seems to have been a son lost or stolen in early life. He is wrecked near his father's house, and all his worldly goods go to the bottom of the sea in his chest. Being reduced to penury, he takes a humble lodging with a fisherman Gorgo, and to make a livelihood engages as a farm-servant with his own father, Dinia. A rogue of a slave, Cacistus, fishes up his chest, and is going to carry it off, when he is prevented by Gorgo, who has been watching him from among some myrtles. Gorgo insists on keeping the chest until Cacistus can establish his claim to it before an arbitrator. That is all we learn from the fragments: indeed we do not learn quite so much, for it is not expressly told us that Dinia was Nicodemus's father. The rest of the play must have been almost identical with the *Rudens*. The recognition of the chest by Nicodemus as his, and the recognition of Nicodemus, through crepundia contained in the chest, by Dinia, must surely have followed. The piece seems to have been expressly written as a counterpart to the *Rudens*. I print here the greater part of the fragments recovered from the Ambrosian, from the 18th to the 68th verse in Schoell's edition. I have tentatively supplied some gaps, in order to give a connected sense, marking my insertions with square brackets. The parts supplied by Studemund I mark with angular brackets.

NICODEMUS. DINIA.

NICODEMUS.

[Adefíndi atque appellándi nunc occásio]

Est quó [bonum erit nullum aéque tem]pus cénseo.

Quid áls ? licetne ?

DINIA.

Máxume, siquidémst opus.

Sed quíd est negoti ?

NICODEMUS.

Té ego audiui dícere

Operárium te vélle rus condúcere.

DINIA.

Recte aúdivisti.

NICODEMUS.

Quíd vis operis fferi ?

DINIA.

Quid tu ístuc curas ? án mihi tutor ádditu's ?

NICODEMUS.

Dare póssum, opinor, sí vis bonum operárium.

DINIA.

Est tíbi mercede sérvos quem des quíspiam ?

NICODEMUS.

Inópia servom [mí imperat eg]o mé loc[em].

DINIA.

Quid tú ? locastin <quaéso te usquam quóspiam ?>

Nam equi dém te m[ercennárium esse haud ár]bitror.

NICODEMUS.

Non súm, siquidem tu nó[n es mercennáriu].<sup>1</sup>

Verúm si pretium dás, duces tecúm simul.

<sup>1</sup> Some *elbowela* like this seems father, as I suppose.  
demanded, if Dinia was Nicodemus's

DINIA.

Labóriosa, aduléscens, vitast rústica.

NICODEMUS.

Urbána egestas édepol aliquantó magis.

DINIA.

Talís iactandis tuaé sunt consuetaé manus.

NICODEMUS.

At quális<sup>2</sup> exercéndas nunc intéllego.

DINIA.

Mollítia urbana atque úmbra corpus cándidumst.

NICODEMUS.

Sol ést ad eam rem píctor : Afrum fécerit.

DINIA.

Heus tú nihil illic éstur [gustatú bonum].

NICODEMUS.

Miseró male esse [prídem consuetúmst mihi].

DINIA.

Quod abést, [virtutes tuás] quaeso ut mi inpértias.

NICODEMUS.

Si tíbi pudico hóminest opus et nóñ malo,  
Qui tíbi fideliór sit quam serví tui,  
Cibíque minumi máxumaque indústria,  
Minumé mendace, em mé licet condúcere.

DINIA.

Non édepol equidem crédo mercennárium  
Te esse.

NICODEMUS.

Áñ non credis n[ími]um p[er]ondu[s v]íri[um] ?  
N[on] empe aútumare hoc quí pote]st, dicát simul  
[Ipsum Hérculem fuisse málum] operárium.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the best pun in Plautus.



DINIA.

[Operárium scin] unde conducám mihi?  
 Multúm labore, paúllum mereat, paúllum edit,  
 Minus óperis nihilo fáciat quam qui plúrumum.

NICODEMUS.

Nec mñhi nisi unum prándium quicquám duis  
 Praetér mercedem.

DINIA.

Quíd merendam?

NICODEMUS.

Né duis,

Neque cénam.

DINIA.

Non cenábis?

NICODEMUS.

Immo ibó domum.

DINIA.

Ubi hábitas?

NICODEMUS.

Hic apud píscatorem Górginem.

DINIA.

Vicínus igitur és mihi, ut tu praédicas.

This is as pretty a scene as is to be found in all  
 Plautus. It makes us doubly regret the loss of the  
 greater part of the play.

CACISTUS. GORGO.

CACISTUS.

Ibo et quaeram, síquem possim sóciorum nancíscier,  
 Seú quem norim qui ádvocatus ádsit: iam hunc noví locum.  
 Hícine vos habitátis?

GORG0.

Hisce in aédibus: huc addúcito.

At ego vidulum íntro condam in árcam atque occludám probe.

Tú siquem vis ínvenire tñbi patronum, quaéríta.

Pérñdiose númqum quicquam hic ágere decretúmst mihi.

CACISTUS.

Qúr, malum, patrónum quaeram, póstquam litem pérdidi?

Némo homo miser ést &lt;adaeque ut égo sum atque infelíx fui&gt;.

Vídulum qui ubi vídi, non me círcumspexi céntiens.

Vérbero illic ínter [murtus látitans mi] insidiás dedit.<sup>3</sup>

Tám scio quam méd hic stare: cáptam praedam pérdidi,

Nísi quid ego meí simile aliquid cónta conciliúm paro.

Híc astabo atque óbservabo, síquem amicum cónspicer.

----

On the Fragmenta the only suggestion I have to make is *minutal* (mince-meat) for *canutam*, vs. 34.

I must apologize for repeating Bücheler's conjecture *per ver* (*Casina* 523) in the last number of HERMATHENA. I have no claim either to *usque* after *corpus* (*Miles* 783). This belongs to Ussing. I do not know whether any of the following conjectures have been anticipated. They are not mentioned in Ussing's or Goetz and Schoell's editions.

*Epidicus* I. i. 62.

Déperit. Hercle détegetur corium de tergo meo.

Read *detergetur*, 'scraped off,' with play on *targo*.

<sup>3</sup> Studemund cites a word beginning *servus per myrteta prosilit*. Otherwise  
 MO . . . after *inter*; but see vs. 100, I had suggested *moros*.  
 preserved by Porphyrio: Nescio qui

*Epidicus* III. 1. 3.

Ne quid hinc in spem referas tibi: hoc oppido pollinctum est.

So Goetz; *pollitum* B. Perhaps *pollutum*.

*Epidicus* III. 3. 8.

## PERIPHANES.

Non repperisti, adulescens, tranquillum locum

Ubi tuas virtutes explices ut postulas.

Nam strenuiori deterior si praedicat

Suas pugnas †deillius illae fiunt sordidae.

This is one of the most difficult corruptions in Plautus. B has the reading given above. F and Z add *ore* after *illius*, a mere interpolation. I have seen no emendation that is satisfactory, and I suggest that Plautus wrote—

si praedicat

Suas pugnas, de illis SUILLAE fiunt sordidae,

‘his battles turn into filthy hog-fights’ (*ὑννία*). Cf. *accipitrina* (scil. *pugna*), a hawk’s fight, *Bacchides* II. iii. 47 (274).

*Miles Gloriosus* 2. 6. 101.

Nam nunc satis populo impio merui mali.

*Populo* has, since Bothe, been changed to *pipulo* in most editions, including Ritschl’s. Professor Tyrrell, following Geppert, reads *Nam uni capitulo plus nimio merui mali*, A having NAMUNI at the beginning of the verse. But A seems to agree with the other MSS., except as to *uni*. That *populo* is right I think I can show. *Satis populo*, ‘enough for a whole people,’ or ‘all the people,’ was certainly a Latin saying. Ovid, for instance, has, *Met.* 8. 833—

quodque urbibus esse

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Ne quid hinc in spem referas tibi: hoc oppido pollinctum est.

So Goetz; *pollitum* B. Perhaps *pollutum*.

*Epidicus* III. 3. 8.

PERIPHANES.

Non repperisti, adulescens, tranquillum locum

Ubi tuas virtutes explices ut postulas.

Nam strenuiori deterior si praedicat

Suas pugnas †deillius illae fiunt sordidae.

This is one of the most difficult corruptions in Plautus. B has the reading given above. F and Z add *ore* after *illius*, a mere interpolation. I have seen no emendation that is satisfactory, and I suggest that Plautus wrote—

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*tiletur*, with Ritschl), 'I am quite sure that a slaughtered hog has more wit (than this fellow), who is so chiselled that he has not seen what he has seen,' the omission of the antecedent being most Plautine. That is the *sense*, but the word *admutiletur* is not fairly got out of *adimatur*, which has such powerful testimony that the real word must have been either it, or something very like it indeed. Such a word is *adlimatur*, which I suggest Plautus wrote—'he is so filed down.' This would add another to the many metaphors from the carpenter's trade referring to cheating, swindling, with which this play abounds: cf. *deasciari*, *deruncinare*, *dolare*, &c.

It has been proposed to keep *id adimatur*, and with this object Ribbeck changes *quine* to *cuin* (dative); but then *ne* gives the exactly opposite sense to the real one.

*Delimare*, *elimare*, are known as compounds of *limare*.

*Miles* IV. v. 5.

Verum postremo impetravi ut volui: dona videre  
Quae voluit, quae postulavit.

*Donavi dere* B; *dona videre* CD. I have little doubt that the true reading is *videro*. 'I'll see to getting the gifts she asks for.' This Pyrgopolinices does, IV. viii. 28—

Exite atque ecferte huc intus omnia istic quae dedi.

The contending readings are *donavi*, *dedi*, Ribbeck; *donavi*, *dari*, Bugge; *donavique ei*, Camerarius.

*Miles* III. ii. 29.

Si falsa dicis, Lurcio, excruciabere.

*Lurcio* is Fleckeisen's conjecture, is generally read, but is very far from the MSS., which have here *uotio* BC, *uocio* D, though *Lucrio puer* is given as the name at the beginning of the scene. Although I admit that a proper

name is likely, and that *Lavator* may be the proper name. I will add *lavator* to the list of conjectures based on the supposition that the word is an ablative, denoting some kind of torture. 'If you don't speak the truth you shall be put to the rack.'

*Casina* 1. 35.

Post autem ruri nisi in acervum ederis  
Aut quasi humbricus terram.

This seems to be the reading of A. I repeat of my conjecture *acervum* in last HERMATHENA. The word that is most corrupt seems *ruri*, which has no meaning here. With a transposition and slight change, I now propose—

Post autem nisi *ruri* in acervos ederis.  
Aut quasi humbricus terram.

'heaps of brambles.' The collective singular is defensible.

*Casina* 1. 16 (104 scy.).

Chaline, non sum oblitus officium meum.  
Praefeci ruri recte qui curet tamen.

Quando ego eam mecum rus uxorem abduxero.  
Rure incubabo usque in praefectura mea.

Read—

RUREI CURABO usque in praefectura mea,

'I will attend to my country province.' *Curare* takes the dative in Plautus, as is well known.

*Bacchides* 4. 8. 63.

CLEOMACHUS.

Hodie exigam aurum hoc.

## CHRYSAEUS.

Exige ac suspende te.

Ne supplicare censeas : nihili homo.

*Eas* has apparently fallen out after *censeas*. 'Be off, you good-for-nothing!'

*Bacchides* 3. 3. 82-4.

Quid opust verbis ? si ópperiri véllem paullispér modo,  
 Út opinor illius inspectandi mihi ésset maior cópia,  
 Plús vidissem quám deceret, quám me atque illo aequom fuit.

*Ut opinor illius* is, of course, corrupt ; but otherwise the three verses seem sound enough, and should not be bracketed. The following conjecture gives the sense required, and is not far from the MSS. :—

ÚT LUPANARÍS spectandi mihi ésset maior cópia.

*Captivi* 1. 2. 81.

I modo venare leporem : nunc irim tenes.

Nam meus scruposam victus commetat viam.

*Ictim*, 'a weasel,' is the most generally accepted emendation. I think Plautus wrote *cicurim*, 'Go hunt for a hare : you now have hold only of a tame one.' Hares were often kept in a *leporarium*, and very probably their flesh was tougher than wild hares, and this may be all that vs. 82 means.

*Curculio* 3. 25-27.

## CURCULIO.

Catapulta hoc ictumst mihi

Apud Sicyonem.

LYCO.

Nam quid id refert mea

An aula quassa cum cinere ecfossus siet ?

I find some difficulty in *cum cinere*. I know that *aula*

*cum cinere* would mean in Plautus 'a pot of ashes,' as 'nassiterna cum aqua' means 'a watering-pot of water.' But how a broken pot could contain ashes, or how a pot of ashes would be standing by, or could be thrown, or how the ashes would help to knock out an eye, I do not understand. Why is *Sicyon* mentioned? Possibly, in the original, to introduce a joke on σίκυος, a cucumber—

quid id refert mea

An aula quassa AN CUCUMERE ecfossus siet?

*Cúcinere* and *cucumere* very closely resemble each other.

*Curculio* 1. 2. 33.

Venus, de paulo paululum tibi dabo haud lubenter:  
Nám tibi amantes própínantes vínum potantés dant omnes.  
Mihi haud saepe eveniunt tales hereditates.

Read *potites*.

*Poenulus* 1. 2. 12.

Binaé singulaé quae dataé nobis ancillae.

The metre is bacchiac, and *ancillae* will not scan. Perhaps *faveae* should be read for it. *Ancillae* may have been an intrusive gloss: cf. *Miles* 3. 1. 202.

*Poenulus* 1. 2. 158.

Égo faxo si nóñ irata es, nínnum pro té dabit.

So B. *Aes*, omitted in all MSS., is invariably supplied after *es*, and *nimum* is read for *ninnium*. I think it is unsafe to change *ninnium*; it scans, and has a meaning, namely, a screw of a horse, which may have been all Agorastocles possessed.

*Poenulus* 2. 45-46.

A. Ausculta. L. Non hercle auscultabo. A. Quomodo?  
Colaphis quidem hercle tuum iam dilidam caput,  
Nisi aut auscultas aut is in malam crucem.

So A, which alone has the passage entire. I suggest:

A. Ausculta. L. Non hercle ausculto. A. At scin quomodo?

The idiom was to use the present in refusals; and *at scin quomodo* is the regular formula introducing a threat.

*Poenulus* v. 2. 16.

Sed quaenam illaec avist, quae huc cum tunicis advenit?  
Numnam in balineis circumductus pallio?

*Avis* is absolutely devoid of meaning; for Ussing's explanation that Hanno is compared to a bird, owing to his sudden appearance on the scene, is absurd. We should probably read either *illa aviast* or *illa anus est*, 'who is that old woman with the tunics.' Hanno, who wears no belt (cf. 5. 2. 48) and long tunics, more than one (tunicis demissiciis, 5. 5. 25), is compared to a woman, 'sane genus hoc muliebrosum'; 'mulier' and 'amatrix Africa' in the passage last quoted.

*Poenulus* 5. 4. 46.

A. Si quid amicitia ést habenda, cum hóc habenda est.  
Ad. Haúd precor.

Read:

A. Si quid amicitia ést habenda, cum hoc habenda. Ad. Hau  
deprecor.

*Rudens* v. ii. 20.

G. Sed quíd tibist? L. Hac próxima nocte ín mari et álii  
Confráctast navis pérddi quidquíd erat miser ibi ómne.

*Mi et alii*, Seyffert, Sonnenschein, possibly rightly.

But as Labrax makes no farther mention of his partner, and as it is not in accordance with his selfish nature to trouble himself about him, I think it worth while to suggest *letali*, 'in the deadly sea,' which is very near the MSS.

*Pseudolus* II. iv. 9.

*Ch.* Nóvos mihist. *Cal.* Nimiúm mortalis gráphicus: εὐρέτης mihist.

This is a violation of the rule forbidding a diiambic ending. I suggest that Plautus used the form εὐρήτης: several forms with -η occur.

*Pseudolus* 4. 7. 44.

Tune is es? Chlamydate, caue sis tibi a curuo infortunio  
Atque in hunc intende digitum.

For *curuo* I would propose either *crurum* or *querno*, the former for choice.

*Trinummus* II. iv. 25-29.

*St.* Quia sponsionem propter tute exactus es  
Pro illo adolescente, quem tu esse aibas divitem.  
*Lc.* Factum. *St.* Ut quidem illud perierit. *Lc.* Factum id quoque est.  
Nam nunc eum vidi miserum et me eius miseritumst.

Surely there is something wrong with the last verse. *nunc* gives no satisfactory sense. 'Now,' literally, is out of the question. The transaction was of some standing. And the meaning, 'as it is,' is out of place: for there is no other course with which a present course is contrasted. I cannot help surmising that the very name of the friend for whom Lesbonicus spoke the fatal word 'spondeo' is mentioned here. I conjecture his name to have been *Lynceus*.



This, in the original MSS. of Plautus, would be written *Lunceus*, accusative *Lunceum*—

Nam Lunceum vidi miserum et me eius miseritumst.

I would not introduce synizesis into a *Latin* word of the form *Lunceum*; but as even the elegiac and heroic poets contract the cases of Greek proper names in *-eus* all through, I have no hesitation in suggesting that Plautus would have done the same.

*Trinummus* III. ii. 66–68.

Quis me improbius perhibeatur esse? haec famigeratio  
Te honestet, me conlululentet: si sine dote duxeris  
Tibi sit emolumentum honoris: mihi quod obiectent siet.

The phrase *emolumentum honoris* is a peculiar one. I propose—

Tibi siet monumentum honoris: mihi quod obiectent siet.

*Trinummus* III. iii. 31.

Gerrae: ne tu illud verbum actutum inveneris.  
'Mihi quidem hercle non est quod dem mutuom.'  
Malim hercle ut verum dicas, quam ut des mutuom.

Ussing abandons the last line. I think it is still part of the words of Megaronides, the speaker of the first two lines, and read—

'Malim hercle, ut verum dicam, *mi* ut des mutuom,'  
'tell you the truth, I had rather *you* would lend *me* money.'

*Truculentus* I. i. 53.

Aut perit aurum, aut conscissa pallula est.

*Aurum* is rather vague: for it seems as if some particular article had been lost. Hence I would venture to propose *inauris*, 'an earring,' although, to the best of my belief, the singular is not found elsewhere. This would

make the passage still more similar than it is at present to Horace, Ep. 1. 17. 55—

Nota refert meretricis acumina saepe catellam  
Saepe periscelidem raptam sibi flentis.

*Truculentus* II. i. 37.

Velut hic agrestis est adulescens, qui hic habet  
Nimis pol mortalis lepidus nimisque probus dator.  
Sed is clam patrem etiam hac nocte illac  
Per hortum transilivit ad nos eum volo convenire.

This is, practically, the tradition of the Palatine MSS. A here has readings which point to a different recension altogether. It makes the first line a trochaic, having *velut hic est adulescens qui habita[n]t hic agrestis rusticus*, gives *amator* for *dator* in the second verse, and *transit* for *transilivit* in the last. The tradition of the Palatine seems the more reliable, and I think the four lines may all have been iambic trimeters. I would read in the last two—

Sed is calim patrem etiam hac nocte maceriam  
Per hortum transilivit ad nos: eum volo.

*Calim* is the ancient form of *clam*, while *illac* seems to me to stand for *mac*, a truncation of *maceriam*; and *convenire* was added by a scribe, who forgot, for the moment, that *eum volo* was complete without it.

*Truculentus* 4. 3. 67.

DINIARCHUS.

Verum te obsecro, ut tuam gnatam des mihi uxorem Callicles.

CALLICLES.

Eundem pul te iudicasse quidem istam rem intellego.

Callicles had just found out of his daughter having had a child by Diniarchus. I read—

*Eam dem* ! pol te iudicasse pridem istam rem intellego.  
'you have settled that matter yourself long since.' *Pol*  
and *pridem* are old restorations.

*Truculentus* 5. 33.

## STRATOPHANES.

Meosne ante oculos ego illam patiar alios amplexarier ?  
 Mortuum hercle me hodie satius. Abstine hoc mulier manum,  
 Nisi si te mea actutum machaera et hunc vis emori.

## PHRONESIUM.

†Nihilipphiari satiust, miles, si te amari postulas.  
 Auro haud ferro deterrere potes me ne amem hunc, Strato-  
 phanes.

I only discuss here the reading of the first lines of Phronesium's speech. A. Spengel, one of the ablest of Plautine critics, coined the word *Philippiari* out of the corrupt *Nihilipphiari*, 'you had better use louis d'ors if you want my love.' But I pointed out in *HERMATHENA*, in 1881, that such a coinage would be only justified by a reference to a previous infinitive, and suggested that a line had fallen out beginning with *Nihili*. Thus—

Nihili facio tuám machaeram : mltte minitarí mihi.

And I still think I have got the first part of the line correctly ; but it seems likely that Spengel's *Philippiari* points to a pun on *mina*, and therefore I suggest the two lines ran—

Nihili facio tuám machaeram : mltte *mi mindrier* :

*Philippiari* satiust miles, si te amari postulas,

none of your *minae* for me : use *Philips* if you want my love.'

I may also suggest *vive, es mecum*, *Pers.* 30, for *vives semicocta*, *Pers.* 93, for *mihi incocta* ; σκληρά for *scelera*, *Pseud.* 817 ; *susum in*, *Stichus* 925 ; *fert*, *Stichus* 86, for *erit* ; *lectos tres*, *Stichus* 35.

A. PALMER.

## THE PREDECESSORS OF BISHOP BUTLER.

THERE does not seem to be anywhere preserved a catalogue of the library of Bishop Butler. It was probably not thought worth making at the time of his death, for he was a wise rather than a learned man; and wisdom of the highest type is hardly to be learned from books. But it would be an interesting record, if it could be found, for it would throw light on a chapter of English philosophical history that is somewhat obscure. The relation of Butler to the ethical and religious thought of his time has indeed been often discussed, but beyond vague general statements as to his knowledge of the works of Clarke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson, little, as far as I know, has been written which gives us much insight into the nature of the books he read or the writers with whom he lived in his hours of study. And yet an investigation which could tell us this would not be without value, for, although a great man like Butler is, doubtless, more than the mere product of his age, he can hardly fail, if he reads at all, to be influenced by the literature of his time, whether for good or for evil.

To discuss with fulness Butler's indebtedness to his English predecessors would require a knowledge of the philosophical literature of the seventeenth century to which I do not pretend; but the editor of *HERMATHENA* has kindly permitted a few fragmentary notes on the subject to find a resting-place here.

I do not know that it has ever been observed how much Butler was indebted to a now forgotten writer, one

John Wilkins, who was Bishop of Chester from 1668 to 1672. This worthy person seems first to have attracted public attention to himself by the publication of a book in which he suggested the possibility of a voyage to the moon, though not after the manner of M. Jules Verne.<sup>1</sup> In 1640 he published 'The First Book: the Discovery of a New World, or a Discourse tending to prove that it's probable there may be another habitable world in the Moone; with a Discourse concerning the possibility of a Passage thither.' It is not, however, to this book that I desire to call attention, but to a posthumous volume edited after Wilkins's death by Tillotson, and issued in 1675, entitled, 'Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion.' This is a sober and sensible treatise, full of good psychological remarks; and it seems to me plain that Butler must have read it. It would be unlikely that, in the preparation of his *Analogy*, he would neglect a book recommended, and (in the concluding chapters) partly written by Tillotson; and there are more resemblances both in thought and phraseology with the *Sermons* and the *Analogy* than can be reasonably ascribed to chance.

For instance, the principle which Butler lays down in the Introduction to the *Analogy*, that in practical matters of great importance we are morally bound to act on probable evidence, if demonstration is not forthcoming, was fully expounded by Bishop Wilkins in the third chapter of Book I. of his *Natural Religion*. 'In all the ordinary affairs of life' (he says), 'men use to guide their actions by this Rule, namely, to incline to that which is most probable and likely, when they cannot attain to any clear unquestionable certainty. And that man would be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Addison, *The Guardian*, No. 112:—'The philosophers of King Charles's reign were busy in finding out the art of flying. The famous

Bishop Wilkins was so confident of success in it, that he says he does not question but that in the next age it will be as usual to hear a man call for

generally counted a fool who should do otherwise' (p. 34; see also p. 95). And the Bishop proceeds:—'If in any matter offered to consideration the probabilities on both sides be supposed to be equal; yet even in this case, men may be obliged to order their actions in favour of that side, which appears to be most safe and advantageous for their interest. Suppose a man travelling upon the road to meet with two doubtful ways, concerning neither of which he can have any the least probability to induce him to believe that one is more like to be the true way to his journey's end than the other; only he is upon good grounds assured, that in one of these ways he shall meet with much trouble, difficulty, and danger, which the other is altogether free from: in this case, though a man be not bound to believe that one of them is a truer way than the other, yet is he obliged, in prudence, to take the safest' (p. 37). This is re-echoed by Butler over and over again; e.g. on p. 278 of the *Analogy*<sup>1</sup> he remarks:—'Suppose it doubtful, what would be the consequence of acting in this, or in a contrary manner: still, that taking one side could be attended with little or no bad consequence, and taking the other might be attended with the greatest, must appear, to unprejudiced reason, of the highest moment towards determining how we are to act.'

The striking quotation from Grotius *de Veritate Rel. Chr.* in the *Analogy*, p. 235 (*Ut ita sermo Evangelii tanquam lapis esset Lydius ad quem ingenia sanabilia explorarentur*), was applied by Wilkins (p. 32) in precisely the same way as it is used by Butler. There can be little doubt that this quotation was obtained at second-hand by Butler, who nowhere else shows any knowledge of Grotius.

Again, Butler speaks of 'the appearance of a standing

his wings, when he is going a journey,  
as it is now to call for his boots.'

works, in two volumes, published at  
Oxford in 1844.

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the edition of Butler's

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miracle in the Jews remaining a distinct people in their dispersion' (*Analogy*, p. 272). Now, Wilkins not only makes this very point, and speaks of the Jews as being 'intended for a standing memorial and example to the world of the divine power and vengeance' (p. 89), but he remarks, that 'but little notice' had been taken of the fact by previous writers. It seems that here, again, Butler was indebted to the Bishop of Chester.

And to turn to the *Sermons*:—The important psychological doctrine, that there could be no pleasure derived from the gratification of a passion were it not for a '*prior suitableness* between the object and the passion' (Butler, *Sermons*, p. 132), is laid down with great exactness by Wilkins. 'Pleasure doth consist in that satisfaction which we receive in the use and enjoyment of the things we possess. It is founded in a suitableness and congruity betwixt the faculty and its object' (*Natural Religion*, p. 344). There can be no doubt, I think, that Butler had this passage in his mind when he worked out the theory of his eleventh Sermon.

Again, the word *superstition* is used by Butler more than once, and its meaning is not immediately apparent (see *Sermons*, pp. 31, 85). But Wilkins' definition of it (p. 236) makes all plain—'Superstition doth properly consist in a misapprehension of things, placing religion in such things as they ought not for the *matter*, or in such a degree as they ought not for the *measure*, which proceeds from ignorance.'<sup>1</sup>

It is also perhaps worth noticing that the 'implicit dissatisfaction of the wicked in vice' discussed by Butler

<sup>1</sup> It has, I suppose, been often observed that the word *reflection*, which Butler uses as almost equivalent to *conscience* (*Sermons*, p. 8), was used in the same sense by another Bishop of Chester, viz. Pearson—'There is in

every man, not only a power to reflect, but a necessary *reflection* upon his actions; not only a voluntary remembrance, but also an irresistible judgment of his own conversation' (*On the Creed*, Art. vii., § 19).

(*Sermons*, p. 87) is remarked by Wilkins (p. 385), and the principle illustrated from the Epistles of Seneca. However, here it must be admitted that Butler's way of putting the matter is far more forcible and pointed than that of his predecessor.

It is tolerably plain from these illustrations, that the work of Wilkins on *Natural Religion* was familiar to the author of the *Analogy*. Of other writers who influenced the thought of Butler, the most conspicuous is Shaftesbury. And it may be worth while to add here a few of the points in which there seems to be a literary or philosophical connexion between the two writers.

The whole idea of human nature as a system or constitution naturally adapted to virtue is (as has often been remarked) fully worked out by Shaftesbury in the *Inquiry*, though, as Butler indicates, the principle of the supremacy of conscience was not sufficiently recognized by that writer. But, as Butler here acknowledges his obligation, it is not necessary to dwell on it with more fulness. It may be observed, in passing, that when Butler speaks (Preface to *Sermons*, p. xvii) of 'the greatest degree of scepticism which Shaftesbury thought possible,' he is alluding to a passage in the *Characteristicks*,<sup>1</sup> where we read: 'Let us carry scepticism ever so far; let us doubt, if we can, of everything about us, we cannot doubt of what passes within ourselves.' The principle that 'self-love, in its due degree, is as just and morally good as any affection whatever' is also stated by Shaftesbury with great clearness and exactitude (*Characteristicks*, vol. ii., p. 23).

The doctrine 'that there are as real and the same kinds of indications in human nature that we were made for society and to do good to our fellow-creatures as that we were intended to take care of our own life, and health, and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii., page 173. My edition printed, in three volumes, in 1727. of Shaftesbury's works is the fourth,



private good' (*Sermons*, p. 4) is not, of course, regarded by anyone as a doctrine peculiar to or originated by Butler. But it is remarkable how closely his statement of it agrees with the language of his predecessors. Bishop Wilkins (*Natural Religion*, p. 288) speaks of man being *naturally designed* for society; and Shaftesbury tells us (*Characteristicks*, iii. 223) that 'the most *truly natural* [affections], generous and noble, are those which tend towards *public service* and the interest of the society at large.' 'Nor is anything more apparent than that there is naturally in every man such a degree of social affection as induces him to seek the familiarity and friendship of his fellows' (*Characteristicks*, ii. 136). The phrase 'public affection' used by Butler in this context is taken from Shaftesbury (ii. 79).

The ethical doctrine developed by Paley, which has been described as 'otherworldliness,' may be found hinted at in the pages of Butler. Thus, at the end of the third sermon Butler points out, as an incentive to right living, that duty and interest always lead in the same direction, if we include the future life within our mental prospect. The germ of this teaching is to be found in Bishop Wilkins (*l. c.*, p. 83), 'nothing properly is man's *duty* but what is really his *interest*'; and this general correspondence between the dictates of conscience and self-love is regarded by Wilkins, as it was afterwards by Butler in the *Analogy*, as an indication of the wisdom and power of the Governor of the World.

That the final cause of the passion of hasty resentment is to prevent and enable a man successfully to resist sudden violence is remarked by Shaftesbury, as well as by Butler. 'This passion,' he says,<sup>1</sup> 'is serviceable in fortifying us against danger, and enabling us to repel injury

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii., p. 144.

and resist violence when offered.' And in like manner, there is a similarity in the treatment given by the two moralists of the passion of *settled* or *deliberate* resentment. Both agree that its presence in man is a sufficient demonstration to him 'that the rules of justice and equity are to be the guide of his actions' (*Sermons*, p. 99). 'Anger . . . an acknowledgment of just and unjust,' notes Shaftesbury (vol. ii., p. 420).

The question 'whether we should love God for His own sake,' discussed among the Quietists in France, to which Butler alludes at the end of his Preface, is raised by Shaftesbury (*Characteristicks*, vol. ii., p. 272), and considered in connexion with the cognate ethical problem as to the possibility of a disinterested pursuit of virtue.

When Butler insists that if there be observed instances of approbation of vice, as such, in itself, and for its own sake, they are 'evidently monstrous' (*Analogy*, p. 58), he is reproducing Shaftesbury's illustration. 'Nor are they less *monsters* who are misshapen or distorted in an inward part' is a principle laid down by that writer (*Characteristicks*, vol. ii., p. 136).

That misery is a different thing from ill'desert is illustrated by Butler, as it had previously been by Shaftesbury. 'We do not say of anyone that he is an *ill man* because he has the plague-spots upon him' (*Characteristicks*, vol. ii., p. 21). Compare with this Butler's *Essay on Virtue*, p. 319. 'If unhappily it were resolved, that a man who, by some innocent action, was infected with the plague, should be left to perish, lest, by other people's coming near him, the infection should spread, no one would say he deserved this treatment.' The similarity of the illustration seems to betray literary connexion.

It is a familiar thought with Butler, that we are not competent judges of the scheme of Divine Providence, from the small parts of it which come within our view in

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the present life; 'therefore,' he says, 'no objections against any of these parts can be insisted on by reasonable men' (*Analogy*, p. 128). Precisely the same point is made by Shaftesbury: 'If the ill of one private system be the good of others; if it makes still to the good of the general system . . . then is the Ill of that private system no real Ill in itself, . . . so that we cannot say of any Being that it is *wholly and absolutely ill*, unless we can positively show and ascertain that *what* we call ILL is nowhere GOOD besides, in any other system, or with respect to any other order of oeconomy whatsoever' (*Characteristicks*, vol. ii., p. 20).

And lastly, concerning the relation of abstract morality to the will of God, Butler expresses himself in a manner very similar to that of Shaftesbury. 'If the mere *Will*, *Decree*, or *Law* of God, be said absolutely to constitute Right and Wrong, then (Shaftesbury had said) are these latter words of no significancy at all. For thus if each part of a Contradiction were affirmed for Truth by the supreme Power, they would consequently become *true*' (*Characteristicks*, vol. ii., p. 50). The illustration here employed is repeated by Butler (*Analogy*, p. 118, note). 'It seems as inconceivable to suppose God to approve one course of action, or one end, preferably to another, which yet His acting at all from design implies that He does, without supposing somewhat prior in that end to be the ground of the preference; as to suppose Him to discern an abstract proposition to be true, without supposing somewhat prior in it, to be the ground of the discernment.'

Among the other modern writers explicitly mentioned by Butler are Clarke, who greatly influenced his early

'Berkeley had said the same thing: 'If we enlarge our view . . . we shall be forced to acknowledge that those particular things which, considered in

themselves, appear to be evil, have the nature of good, when considered as linked with the whole system of beings' (*Principles of Human Knowledge*, § 153).

speculations, as we learn from the letters which passed between them ; Hobbes, against whose psychological theories he directs his polemic in his *Sermons on Human Nature and on Compassion* ; Locke, whose doctrine of personality he discusses in the first Dissertation appended to the *Analogy* ; Wollaston, whose *Religion of Nature Delineated* had a high reputation in the eighteenth century ; and Colliber, to whose book on *Revealed Religion* he refers in the second part of the *Analogy*. Butler mentions Wollaston's book in favourable terms in the Preface to the *Sermons*, but I do not know that the resemblances, whether in matter or form, between the two authors are more, or more striking, than might be expected from the fact that they wrote on the same topics about the same time. But in Colliber's work there is a good deal which might have suggested some of the arguments of the *Analogy*. Its title in full is, 'The Christian Religion founded on Reason ; or, two Essays on Natural and Revealed Religion, by the author of the *Impartial Enquiry*.' It was published in 1729, the motto on the title-page being *Credo quia [non] impossibile est*. This of itself gives a good idea of the spirit of the writer, to whom nothing could be more distasteful than the paradox of Tertullian which he thus transforms into a platitude.

That it is impossible to believe any doctrine 'plainly contradictory to nature,' that the 'reasonableness of revelation' is a suitable topic for discussion, inasmuch as its internal character affords its best test, that the passions are not to be destroyed but to be controlled, inasmuch as 'Patience doth not include a Stoical Apathie or an entire freedom from all Passions,' are all propositions familiar to the student of Butler, but not so familiar to the English thought of his time.

It would not be right to occupy any more space with quotations from these forgotten writers ; my object is

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simply to call attention to the fact of Butler's indebtedness to Wilkins, and the extent of his indebtedness to Shaftesbury. The former of these points, so far as I know, has not been observed, and the latter has, as it seems to me, been underestimated.

J. H. BERNARD.

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HORATIANUM.

Epodes III. 13-18 :

Hoc delibutis ulta donis pelicem  
Serpente fugit alite,  
Nec tantus umquam siderum insedit vapor  
Siticulosae Apuliae,  
Nec munus umeris efficacis Herculis  
Inarsit aestuosius,

*Efficax* is a very strange word to apply to a person. Were it the most appropriate in the world, it has no point here. On the other hand *efficax* is the very word to apply to a powerful drastic poison. Cf. 'efficaci scientiae' 17, 1. I put forward, as in every way preferable to the vulgate :

Nec munus umeris aestuantis Herculis  
Inarsit efficacius.

I am aware that Orelli brings forward one passage in which *efficax* is applied to a person. Caelius, writing to Cicero, ad Fam. 10. 3 : Nosti Marcellum quam tardus et parum efficax sit ; but Caelius is by no means *locuples auctor*, and even the sense he assigns to it would be odd here.

A. P.

## TWO UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

THE first inscription is Latin, on a marble slab, sixteen inches by nine. It was formerly in the Museum of Trinity College, and is now in the Library. I know nothing of how it originally came into our possession. It reads as follows :—

D v M  
M v IVLIO v CAPITOLINO  
MEDICO v DVPL v CL v PR MISE  
B NENSIS v HERES v M

*i.e.* M. Julio Capitolino Medico Duplari (or Duplicari) Classis Praetoriae Misenensis Heres. Bene Mereuti.

The Classis Misenensis became Praetoria, *i.e.* under the command of the Emperor, between A.D. 71 and A.D. 127 (Mommsen, C.I.L.). The first mention of it in this character is of the date 129 (Darenberg and Saglio). It continued to be Praetoria until the fifth century. 'Milites Duplares,' or 'Duplicarii,' were those who received double pay for distinguished service.

The second inscription is Greek. Unfortunately we possess only a mould. The only information I have about it is from Mr. Cullen, of the Museum. He states that he has a distinct recollection of a conversation between a former curator and the Rev. Eugene O'Meara, for many years curate of St. Mark's, from which he gathered that

the original was in St. Mark's Churchyard. The fact of our having the mould is presumptive evidence that the original was not far off. I have made every inquiry and search in St. Mark's and elsewhere without success. The Rev. Mr. Dougherty, however, late curate of St. Mark's, states that he distinctly remembers its being pointed out to him, but whether in St. Mark's or not he cannot remember. This would be, I think, the only Greek inscription ever found in Ireland. Of course it could only have come here by accident, either being brought by a traveller, and subsequently thrown aside, or perhaps coming with the ballast of a ship. It is imperfect, its present extreme dimensions being thirteen inches by eleven, and it reads as follows:—

ΕΩΝΤ  
ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙ  
ΙΕΡΟΜΝΑΜΟΝΟΣ  
ΑΝΘΕΝΤΩΝΙΟΥΠΥΘ  
ΡΕΙΜΟΥΚ . ΙΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ  
ΚΑΙΕΠΑΦΡ . ΔΕΙΤΟΥΚΑΙΚΑΣ  
ΕΣΤΑΣΘΥΣΙΑΣΚΑΤΑΤΟΕΘΟ  
ΝΟΙΤΟΥΔΙΔΥΜΕΩΣΤΟ

Before P in line 5 appears to be part of T.

The only point to be noticed about the form of the letters is that M has all its strokes rather curved, the middle angle being rounded, and the left-hand stroke not reaching to the top of the second, which curves over it.

T. K. ABBOTT.

## NOTES ON CICERO'S EPISTLES.

**B**y the kindness of the Rev. J. E. Fenwick, of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, I was allowed to consult the eight MSS. of Cicero's *Epistulae ad Familiares* which are in the library of that mansion. This library was formerly the property of Sir Thomas Philipps, of Middlehill, Worcestershire. There is a large, but not complete, catalogue of this library in Haenel, but he mentions only five MSS. of Cicero's Epistles as having been at Middlehill.

The MSS. of Cicero's *Epistulae ad Familiares* are these:—

917.—Parchment, cent. xv., beautifully written and highly ornamented. Contains all the letters.

4009.—Paper, late, in loose sheets. Contains ix. 8 to ix. 15. 5 (*parietibus*); viii. 2. 1 (*non mehercules*) to viii. 9. 3 (*spem*); ix. 15. 5 (*aut in tecto*) to xvi. 18 fin. (*homo bonus*).

2269 a.—Same writing as 4009. Contains from iii. 6. 2 (*convenissem*) to viii. 1. 2 (*tenuissimam*). After this the leaves are wrongly bound, but all the portions of viii., which are wanting in 4009, are to be found, except 15. 2 (*conferre*) to end of book.

2269 b.—Paper, late. Contains iii. 7. 4 (*praetergressum*) to vii. 17. 2 (*meminisse te credo*), breaking off in the middle of a page.

8875.—Parchment, cent. xv. Contains all the letters, except Book viii. The omission of this is noticed by a second hand in the margin. The ninth book follows the seventh in the middle of a page. The MS. has as a supplement ad Brut. i. 16; i. 15; Ep. ad Octavianum.



3685 and 11913 (the one MS. bears both numbers).—Parchment. Contains all letters; but there is a considerable displacement of leaves from xi. 1. 4 to xiii. 78. 2.

Mendelssohn (p. xvii) has shown that during the fifteenth century very many MSS.—*alius alio nequior*, as he says—were copied from Medicean 49. 7 (he calls it P). This was the copy of the great Medicean 49. 9, which Coluccio received from Pasquino de' Capelli in 1389. All the Cheltenham MSS. appear to have been derived from this source. Certain it is, at all events, that they are quite worthless members of the same family as M. Thus, all have iv. 11. 1, *quemadmodum—gratulatio*, omitted by the Harleianus (H) and Parisinus (Par); and again, in iv. 12. 2, they do *not* supply the words *ei—medicos*, omitted by M, but found in H Par; and in v. 2. 7 they read *credo* with P<sup>a</sup> for *certo scio* (om. *scio* M). Those of them that have the first book, in i. 7. 8 read *virtutique* with P for *favisti* (Schol. Bob.); [*praefuis*]ti M, om. HP. Those that contain the last eight books have not (at least by the first hand) any of the genuine readings which are found in the family to which M does not belong, e.g. ix. 15. 1 (*curam—tibi*); x. 18. 2 (*exercitu—sentiente*); x. 23. 5 (*numeroque hostis habueram*); xi. 13. 1 (*Aquilam perisse nesciebam*); xii. 14. 3 (*quam revera—scripsi*); xiii. 28. 3, *tibi confirmo*; xv. 2. 5, *et tamen adulescentem essem*; while all read *et te visus est*, as is found in M, but omitted by the Harleian (H), Palatinus Sextus (Pal), Erfurdensis (E). It also has ix. 18, omitted by H; and x. 18, 19, 20, omitted by Pal.

16288.—The same may be said of the *Epp. ad Fam.* found in this MS. It is on parchment, and contains Fam. i.–vii.; Q. Fr. i. 1, and several letters from the later books ad Att., viz. xvi. 10, § 1 (*vulgo*), as if beginning a letter, to § 2 (*faciam*); xvi. 11. 2, *Quod vereris* to *laetarer*; § 3, *Quod me* to *aliud*; *Librum* to end of letter [for ἀδόλεσχος here, and for many, but not all, Greek words this MS. has *Gr.*];

xiv. 17 A; viii. 15 A. 1, 2; ix. 6 A; 7 C, B, A; 16; 13 A; 14; xii. 28. 2, 3 (to *diligō*); 10; xiii. 19. 1 (*Illud*, as if beginning a letter) to 20. 1 (*Hispani*, as if the end of the letter); xiii. 33. 4 (*De Varrone to remanserunt*); xiv. 13 A, B; xiv. 12. 6; ad Brut. i. 8; Att. xvi. 16 D, E, F; iii. 5. Then follow some letters from the latter books of Fam., viz. ix. 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26; x. 12; xiii. 4, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21; xvi. 21. 1. It stops in the middle of a page, leaving three and a-half folia unfilled. The portions of Fam. are undoubtedly a copy of Med. 49. 7 (P). There does not appear to be anything exceptional in Epp. ad Att., the readings in most of the passages inspected showing no marked divergence from Med. 49. 18. The list given may help towards the obtaining of some knowledge concerning the selections of letters made in the fifteenth century.

2351 and 2879.—The single MS. which bears these two numbers is somewhat different from the others. It is a parchment MS., written in 1447.<sup>1</sup>

In the first eight books it is a mere copy of P; but in the latter portion it is a 'contaminatus codex' of the kind noted by Mendelssohn, pp. xxvi, xxvii. Thus we find in it the additions (cp. p. 88 above) supplied by H Pal in ix. 15. 1; ix. 16. 7 (*apud me—illos*); x. 18. 2; x. 22. 5; xii. 14. 3; xiii. 28. 3. On the other hand, it omits xi. 13. 1 (*Aquilam perisse nesciebam*); xv. 2. 5 (*et tamen adolescentem essem*), as M does; and reads xiv. 4. 1 (*semper*); xv. 15. 1 (*necessaria*); xvi. 15. 2 (*et te visus est*), which are omitted by H Pal E. It also has ix. 18, omitted by H, and x. 18, 19, 20; xi. 29, omitted by Pal. The scribe knew what he was writing. Thus he never in the early letters fails to write

<sup>1</sup> At the end is 'M. T. Ciceronis Epistularum familiarium liber xvi. et ultimus explicit feliciter anno d. (blank space of about ten letters) quo anno clausit diem summus pontifex Eugenius

et dux mediolani.' Eugenius IV. died on Feb. 23rd, 1447, and Filippo Maria, the last of the Visconti, on Aug. 13 of the same year.

*tribunus plebis* (or abbreviations of these words) for the *tirannus puplii lentulo* of the best MSS. This knowledge leads him sometimes to attempt the part of a corrector; e.g. xi. 10. 1, he has *exploratum habes: si tamen hoc tempore iis videatur dici causa <simulationis> malle me tuum iudicium*; but even this bold interpolation does not cure that difficult passage.

On the whole, these MSS. afford no additional knowledge to the criticism of the Epistles.

Subjoined are notes on a few passages in the volume of Cicero's Correspondence with Brutus:—

i. 2. 2. Quod scribis de seditione quae facta est in legione quarta, de †Catoniis—in bonam partem accipies—magis mihi probabatur militum severitas quam tua <clementia>.

The last word is omitted in the MSS., but it was probably *clementia*: see § 5. There must be some corruption in *quarta*, for the fourth legion was at this time (May, 43) in North Italy, under the command of Octavian: it had gone over to him at the end of 44: cp. Phil. iii. 39. Hermann's correction *quadam* is impossible, as this letter is addressed to the commander of the legion in question; but possibly he is right in his suggestion, *fraude C. Antonii* for *de Catoniis*: cp. Dio xlvii. 22 fin., τὰ στρατεύματα στρασιασθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατεστήσατο (sc. ὁ Βρούτος). Perhaps *quarta* is a mistake for *capta*, and the reference is to the forces of Antonius which Brutus had detached from Antonius before Apollonia (Dio xlvii. 21 fin.). For *de Catoniis* I would suggest *de C. Antonii salute*; the abbreviation *s* for *salutem* is common in letters. Brutus treated this Antonius with great forbearance, and was ill repaid by him (Dio, l. c. 23).

i. 2. 5. Quod scribis me maximo ~~otio~~ egisse ut insectarer Antonios.

For *otio* Ruete reads *negotio*, 'with infinite labour': cp. Caes. B. G. v. 11. 2, *ut reliquae naves refici posse magno negotio viderentur*; Cic. Fam. ii. 10. 3. Possibly what Cicero wrote was *me <e> maximo otio exisse*. The adj. with *otium* is generally *summum*, but cp. Off. i. 77, *neque . . . periculum in rep. fuit gravius umquam nec maius otium*.

i. 3. 1. Quales tibi saepe scripsi consules, tales exstiterunt.

Cobet adds *fore* after *consules*. If any word was required *esse* would be preferable, as it might have fallen out after *consules*. But no addition is necessary: cp. i. 5. 4, *Omnino Pansa vivo celeriora omnia putabamus*, sc. *fore*.

i. 4. 3. Nunc, Cicero, nunc agendum est, ne frustra oppressum esse Antonium gavisi simus neu semper primi cuiusque mali excidendi causa sit, ut aliud renascatur illo peius.

There is something wrong with this sentence. We should expect some word like *festinatio* after *excidendi*. Middleton suggested *ratio*, Becher *cura*, Markland *omissio*. A simpler addition would be *ea* after *causa*, which might readily have fallen out after that word, which, in its abbreviated form, is *cā*. Translate 'lest the excuse that each evil should be cut down the moment it appears bring it to pass that (lit. "be of such a nature that") another worse evil springs again into existence.' For *causa* = 'excuse,' cp. Phil. i. 28, *nec erit iustior in senatum non veniendi morbi causa quam mortis*.

i. 4. 4. Itaque timeo de consulatu, ne Caesar tuus altius se ascendisse putet decretis tuis, quam inde, si consul factus sit, descensurum.

Both Becher (Rh. Mus. 37 (1882), p. 596) and Ruete make virtually the same correction here. The former

reads *quam inde consul factus sit descensurus*; the latter *quam inde, si consul factus sit, descensurus sit*. (For *ut* omitted after *quam* Becher compares De Orat. ii. 161; Att. iv. 1. 7, *adiungit . . . maius imperium in provinciis quam sit eorum qui eas obtineant*.) Ursinus, however, claims to have found this reading, in a slightly better form, in one of his manuscripts, viz. *quam inde, si consul factus sit, sit descensurus* (see Variorum ed. of the Letters to Brutus, p. 118). The second *sit* having dropped out by lipography, *descensurus* was altered to *descensurum*.

i. 11. 2. Statuit id sibi \* \* quoniam exercitum dimisisset.

So M. The Palatinus tertius reads *statuit sibi eundum*. An Oxford MS. and the ed. Romana have *statuit eundum sibi*. As even this additional word *eundum* does not make the sense complete (for it does not say *where* he was going), we may assume that it is a true tradition. Read *statuit sibi eundum domum* (*dōm*). For *domum* = *Romam* cp. Att. ii. 13. 1; xii. 42. 3, as is pointed out by Lehmann, Quaest. Tull., pp. 73, 74.

i. 15. 9. Ego autem . . . nihil mihi videor hoc bello sensisse prudentius, cur autem ita sit, aperiendum non est, ne magis videar providus fuisse quam gratus: hoc ipsum nimium, quare alia videamus.

*Hoc ipsum nimium* is possibly a gloss by some reader who wished to express the just opinion that the preceding statement of Cicero was too highly coloured. If the words were Cicero's own some qualification would have been added, like *sed fortasse*.

i. 16. 4. Scilicet, ut illo prohibito rogaremus alterum, qui se in eius locum reponi pateretur, an ut esset sui iuris ac Mancipii res publica? nisi forte non de servitute sed de condicione serviendi recusatum est a nobis.

The translation would appear to be: 'And, of course,

all this is done in order that now, when Antony has been checked, we might supplicate another to allow himself to be placed in the position which Antony held, or was it not rather that the State should be its own master, and at its own disposal? unless, perchance, our opposition was directed, not against bondage in general, but against a particular kind of bondage.' The clause *an . . . res publica*, expressing, as it does, the real reason why opposition was directed against Antony, comes in awkwardly in the midst of the other ironical sentences. Perhaps we should read *reponit, an pateretur ut esset*, 'that we should ask the other, who is putting himself into the place of Antony, whether he will be graciously pleased to allow the State to be its own master.'

i. 18. 4. Videtur enim esse indoles, sed flexibilis aetas.

With *indoles* Wesenberg proposes to supply *bona*; but there is no necessity to do so: *indoles* by itself can mean 'natural excellence,' 'capacity': cp. Att. x. 12. 7, *est enim indoles*; Plaut. Rud. 424, *tum quae indoles in saviost*; Liv. i. 3. 1, *tanta indoles in Lavinia erat*.

ii. 3. 5. Duabus rebus egemus, Cicero, pecunia et supplemento, quarum altera potest abs te expediri, ut aliqua pars militum istinc mittatur nobis vel secreto consilio adversus Pansam vel actione in senatu, altera, quae magis est necessaria, neque meo exercitui magis quam reliquorum.

This sentence has no proper ending. Ernesti omits *quae* after *altera*, and Wesenberg reads *alteraque*. But *altera . . . alteraque* is, I think, a solecism. Possibly *ab ipso senatu*, or words to that effect, have dropped out between *senatu* and *altera*. As regards the transference of forces, the authority, though formally resting with the Senate, was practically in the hands of the general, and the Senate would not interfere further than to make a

recommendation, except on important and critical occasions. But the case was different with grants of funds; such grants were both formally and practically made by the Senate. For the diminished control exercised by the Senate over the armies of the provincial governors during the last century of the Republic see Willems *Le Sénat*, ii. 646 ff.

L. C. PURSER.

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CATULLUS 53.

Risi nescioquem modo e corona,  
 Qui, cum mirifice Vatiniana  
 Meus crimina Calvus explicasset,  
 Admirans ait haec manusque tollens  
 'Di magni salaputtium disertum!'

*Haec* in the fourth verse seems somewhat awkward. I venture to suggest that Catullus wrote—

Admirans ait *ec* manusque tollens,

*i.e.* extollensque manus. For *ec*- see vi. 13.

A. P.

## NOTES ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

**I**N a paper in the last number of this Journal I made a number of tentative suggestions which had occurred to me during a first study of the *Argonautica*. A large number of these suggestions I should now, after more careful consideration, decline to defend; but my observations have not been quite fruitless, as they have called forth Mr. Postgate's *Annotations* in the JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY (xxii., p. 307 *sqq.*), and elicited some emendations from the editor of HERMATHENA. In the present paper I propose to deal with some other difficulties in the poem, but will first make brief remarks on a few of the passages dealt with in my first paper.

i. 147. Mr. Postgate's explanation is right. 213. I find that in reading *regem* I have been anticipated by Kiessling. 529, 530. No change is necessary; Bumann's explanation is correct. 749. *artus* is right. Compare Virgil, *Aen.*, iv. 336, dum spiritus hos *regit* artus. ii. 235. Read *obduntque* (see Mr. Postgate's note, p. 308). 414. *raptus* is right. 454. Kurtz (*Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, xxviii. 610, has well defended *flebile succedens, cum fracta remurmurat unda*. 455. *uacuum* is right. 626. Kurtz (*ib.*) anticipated me in the emendation *caelamina*. iii. 120. Mr. Postgate's *sinistrum* is, I think, certain. 594. Ph. Wagner's *nunc motus* (so Mr. Palmer) is probably right. iv. 674. *uel fallis* is the true reading, as Mr. Herbert Greene pointed out to me (so Mr. Postgate, p. 311). One or two other passages will be rehandled below.



In treating the text of Valerius, it is important to realize that the poet had not finally revised even the early part of his work. There are not only clear indications of this fact, but it may be shown with probability that V. was ultimately derived from a text in which Valerius had jotted down additions which he intended to make before publication, but was prevented (by death) from incorporating in his poem. This question has been well discussed by J. Peters, *De C. Valerii Flacci vita et carmine*, p. 14 *sqq.*, who has added much to the remarks of Thilo.

There is a clear instance of the need of revision in ii. 332, where an abrupt transition leaves the story incomplete (see Peters, p. 21). In vii. 423 we are told casually that Iphis is dead, and in i. 441 that Iphis is to die; in revising Valerius would assuredly have introduced a narrative of his death. There is an inconsistency between vi. 507 and 750 (Peters, 18). In v. 477 Cretheus is (by inadvertence) stated to have been an ancestor of both Phrixus and Iason, whereas he was brother of Athamas, who was father of Phrixus. This lapse would have been corrected on revision (Peters, 20).

The true explanation of v. 565, 566—

qualis ab Oceano nitidum chorus aethera uestit.  
qualibus adsurgens nox aurea cingitur astris—

is, no doubt, that suggested by Bulaeus, that the poet wrote both lines provisionally, intending to make a final choice of one. The same is to be said of vii. 201, 201 *a*—

hoc satis ; ipsa etiam *casus* spectare supremos  
ei mihi ne casus etiam spectare supremos.

i. 778–84 are to be regarded as having been written in the margin by the poet, who intended subsequently to work them in, making the necessary alterations in his original text. And so iii. 273, *cur etiam flammas miseros*—

que moramur honores, was a marginal addition of Valerius, perhaps intended to come after l. 310 (as Thilo suggests), but inserted by the copyist in an inappropriate place.

Some cases of tautology would perhaps have been altered by Valerius in revising—*e.g.* iii. 139, elatae; 140, delataque (which, however probable, is not absolutely certain, as V has delicataque); 254, uersique; 256, conuersa. The repetition of a word or phrase is not a sufficient cause for suspecting our text. For the same reason I would not, with Bährens and Schenkl, question such a verse as i. 851—

et loca et infernos almae uirtutis honores.

Valerius wrote ii. 642—

longaque iam populis inperuia lucis eoae,

as it stands, but he would probably have altered it.

#### I. 398.

insequeris casusque tuos expressa, Phalere,  
arma geris; *uacua* nam lapsus ab arbore paruum  
ter quater ardenti tergo circumuenit anguis:  
stat procul intendens dubium pater anxius arcum.

*uacua* V, *naeua* M. Heinsius proposes *patula*, Schenkl *nasta*. *uacua*, which can only mean that the snake had left the tree, is superfluous with *lapsus ab arbore*. Valerius fully appreciated the possibilities of *uacuu*s (cp. iii. 589, *frangit et absentem uacuis sub dentibus hostem*, and vii. 528, *uacuo furit ore per auras*), and if he wrote *uacua* here we may assume that he would have replaced it subsequently by some other epithet. It seems to me, however,

more likely that the word is corrupt, and I propose to amend thus :

*saua nam lapsus ab arbore.*

The adjective is appropriate to the tree which concealed the snake, and characteristic of the use of the Flavian poets in such cases. The cause of the corruption would be the omission of initial *s* after the last letter of *geris*.

I have been unable to discover any other mention of this adventure of Phalerus in his childhood.

I. 723.

sunt hic etiam tua uulnera, praedo,  
sunt lacrimae carusque parens.

The last words are feeble. *canusque parens* (cp. l. 718, in nostrae durus tormenta senectae) would be a slight improvement; but the phrase may be regarded as provisional, to be altered, and perhaps expanded, on revision. (Bährens, *casusque pares*.)

I. 833.

hic geminae aeternum portae, quarum altera dura, etc.

*aeternum* is unsound; *alternant* and *introrsum* have been proposed. A genitive of 'the under-world' is probably concealed in *aeternum* (compare the Virgilian passage which Valerius is imitating, *Aen.* vi. 893, sunt geminae *Somni* portae). I propose—

hic geminae *lemurum* portae.

The corruption of the first letter of *lemurum* might easily lead to a correction *aeternum*, in view of *aeternaque moenia* in l. 847.

## II. 29, 30.

torquentemque anguibus undas  
Sicanium dedit usque fretum cumque urbibus Aetnam  
intulit ora premens.

In writing my last paper I felt, like others, doubts about *intulit*; but now I have no doubt that it is right. *-tulit* here is the perfect, not of *fero*, but, in accordance with its etymology, of *tollo*, and the word means 'lifted on top of him.' *dedit* (ἐθηκε), 'put,' may be illustrated by *datatim*. It is quite possible that if the poem had been submitted to a final revision this passage would have been changed.

## II. 57.

certusque ad talia Titan  
integer in fluctus et in uno decedit auro.

*auro* is the happy correction of an anonymous Italian scholar for *euro*. Eyssenhardt retains *euro*, but the following lines—

adde quod in noctem uenti ueloque marique  
incumbunt magis,

show that it is impossible. *in uno decedit auro* means 'set in a sheet of gold.' Schenkl is wrong in questioning *in uno*, and his suggestion *et puro* is excluded by the last line but one—*puraque nec gravido surrexit Cynthia cornu pleno* would be better if any change were required.

## II. 152.

picta manus iusto placet sed barbara mento.

*ustoque*, Bon. Ald. edd. The corruption will be explained if we read—

picta manus *nurus* usta placet sed barbara mento.

Compare below, 160, *et plaustro derepta nurus*.

## II. 219.

o qui me vera canentem  
sistat et hac nostras exolvat imagine noctes!

*noctes* is one of the touches in Valerius which distinguish the genuine poet. An ordinary versifier would have written *mentes*. It is significant that Schenkl conjectures *mentes*, and prints it in his text. On the other hand, in l. 252,

iam dubiae donum rape mentis et ense  
tu potius, miserere, tene,

he proposes *noctis* for *mentis*, thereby vexing the sense, which is, as Burmann rightly explained, 'take quickly, while my mind still wavers.'

## II. 227.

tantum oculos pressere ſuelut agmina cernant  
Eumenidum ferrumne super Bellona coruscet.

Burmann supplied *manu* after *pressere*; Carrion *metu*, the Bologna ed. *uiri*. Read—

*pressere, rei uelut agmina cernant,*

'as if they were guilty men beholding the Eumenides,' a correction which accounts for the corruption.

## II. 316.

tunc etiam uates Phoebo dilecta Polyxo  
(non patriam, non certa genus, sed maxima ſtaeta  
Proteaque ambiguum Pharii se ſab antris  
huc rexisse uas iunctis super aequora phocis.  
saepe imis se condit aquis cunctataque paulum  
surgit ut auditas referens in gurgite uoces)  
'portum demus' ait.

There can, I think, be no question that the last word of l. 317 is *cete* (so C, *caete*). The coming of Polyxo to Lemnos is doubtless referred to, and the conjectures

hitherto proposed have been based on this supposition. I propose to read—

sed maxima cete

Proteaque ambiguum Phæris ubi narrat ab antris  
huc rerisse uis inactis super æquora phocis.

‘She tells that mighty monsters and ambiguous Proteus from Pharian caves guided her ways hither over the waters on yoked seals.’ *phocis*, of course, applies only to Polyxo, not to her guides. This is simpler than any of the changes proposed by the commentators.

II. 464.

defectaque uirginis ora  
cernit et ad primos surgentia flumina flectus.

I formerly proposed *uergentia lumina fletus*. I now prefer

ad primos turgentia lumina fletus

(cod. reg. *turgentia*). This was proposed to me by Mr. J. S. Reid, who observes that Valerius was thinking of the *turgentia lumina fletu* of Propertius. ‘Swollen to shed (to the point of shedding) the first flood of tears’: cp. *pleni oculos*, i. 298.

473.

nos Ili *felix* quondam genus.

*felix* is the certain correction of Slothouwer; V has *ueteris*. The origin of the corruption is worth noting. *Ilifelix* became *Ilix*, which was corrected to Ili, and *ueteris* was introduced, for the metre, from l. 580, *ueteris tumulos praelabitur Ili*.

II. 580.

ueteris tumulos praelabitur Ili

Dardaniumque patrem.

Schenkl proposes *Dardaniique patris*, which does not explain the corruption.

Read—

Dardaniumque patris,

‘the father of the Dardanians,’ *i.e.* Dardanus. Maserius suggested that Teucer was meant.

### III. 10.

primas coniunx Percosia uestes  
quas *dabat et* picto Clite uariauerat auro.

*dederat picto et*, Thilo’s conjecture, which does not account for the reading of the MSS., has been adopted by editors. *dabat* is clearly the insertion of someone who thought that Clite, not Cyzicus, gave the apparel to Jason, and we may conclude that such an insertion was prompted by a defective line. The problem is to amend

quas picto Clite uariauerat auro.

Virgil, *Aen.* iii, 483, suggests the correction. There we have—

nec minus Andromache digressu maesta supremo  
fert picturatas auri subtegmine uestes,  
et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem, etc.

Read—

quas picturato Clite uariauerat auro.

*picturatum aurum* is gold thread wrought to form an embroidered picture, a variation for *picturatas auro*, as *picto auro* would be a variation for *pictas auro*: cp. vii. 227—

non auro depicta chlamys, non flava galeri  
caesaries pictoque iuuant subtegmine braciae.

See also Statius, *Achilleid* i. 330—

et picturato cohibens uestigia limbo,

an echo of Virgil, *Aen.*, iv. 137. The similarity of the second and fourth syllables in *picturato* would account for the corruption.

## III. 206.

nox alta cadentum

ingentes *donec* sonitus augetque ruinas.

The Aldine *duplicat*, generally accepted, has no probability. My former conjectures are nugatory. We have to deal with *donec*, and need not hesitate to accept the emendation of Gronovius, *denset*.

## V. 39.

bina (nefas) toto pariter mihi funera surgent  
litore.

So V, but edd. read *tuto* with Sabellicus, and *surgent* with M, man. sec. I believe that the MS. reading is right; we have only to place a mark of interrogation after *litore*. Jason complains that he is losing his followers in pairs. He had already lost Hercules and Hylas; he has now lost Idmon and Tiphys. Strictly, of course, *funera surgent* is only applicable to the second case; but in the rhetorical question, including the future, such an inaccuracy is permissible and natural. 'Are two losses to befall me, two funeral piles to rise, at every point along the whole coast?'

## V. 45.

nec summa speculantem puppe uidebo

Pleiadumque globos et agentes noctibus Arctos?

*que* shows that *agentes* (superfluous with *Arctos*) should be a word co-ordinate with *speculantem*. Read—

nec summa speculantem puppe uidebo

Pleiadumque globos et agentem noctibus Arctos?

We have here a good example of a poetic idiom, of which the most familiar instances are—in Latin,



Virgil's *abscondimus arces*, and in Greek, Callimachus' ἥλιον ἐν λίσχῃ κατεδύσαμεν. The observer who watches the motions of the constellations is said to drive them through the heavens. This mode of expression is quite in keeping with the phrase of the following verse—

cui Minyas caramque ratem, cui sidera tradis ?

J. B. BURY.

### A MISTRANSLATION IN OVID.

ALL editors, including myself, have, I fear, misunderstood a very simple line, Ovid, *Her. i. 27* :

Grata ferunt nymphae pro salvis dona maritis.

The meaning assigned has been : 'The wives offer grateful gifts in return for the safety of their husbands.' So Burmann, van Lennep, Terpstra, Loers : so also Forcellini.

I aver that *nymphae* cannot bear this meaning, and that the true rendering is, 'the Nymphs receive grateful gifts in return for safe husbands.' *Ferre munus, donum* in the sense of receiving a gift are common.

As to the Nymphs being prayed to take care of absent lovers, or spouses, I need only quote Propertius 4, 4, 25 : Saepe tulit blandis argentea lilia Nymphis, Romula ne faciem laederet hasta Tati.

The singular *nympha* is, no doubt, occasionally used of a particular female, but its use is very restricted. Lennep quotes *Oebali nympha* of Helen, *nympha Iardanis* Omphale, *Ormeni nympha* Astydamia.

But a general use of the plural *nymphae* for *sponsae*, *uxores*, or *puellae*, of the heroic, or any, age, is, so far as I know, without a parallel in Latin.

A. PALMER.

SCRIVENER'S 'INTRODUCTION TO THE CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.'

THE third edition of this well-known book was issued by the late Dr. Scrivener in 1883, and has now been out of print for some time. There is no other book in English which covers exactly the same ground, and thus the fourth edition, which has just appeared, will be welcomed by all students of the text of the Greek Testament. This new edition has been prepared by the Rev. Edward Miller, of Oxford, with the aid of MS. materials left by Dr. Scrivener, and with the co-operation of many eminent scholars. The task entrusted to Mr. Miller by the publishers was, indeed, a difficult one. The number of MSS., both uncial and cursive, which have become accessible within the last ten years is very great ; and as a matter of fact, instead of the 2094 manuscripts of all classes enumerated in the third edition, we now have a description of no less than 3791. And, again, so much has recently been written on the versions of the New Testament in Syriac and Latin, and so much more knowledge has been accumulated of the versions in Coptic and other little studied languages, that the production of a book of reference of this sort is a far more serious undertaking than it was twenty, or even ten, years ago.

It is always an ungrateful and difficult task to revise a dead scholar's book ; but, on the whole, the editor seems to have been wise in the method he has pursued, although

<sup>1</sup> 'A plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, for the use of Biblical Students,' by the late F. H.

A. Scrivener. 4th ed., edited by the Rev. Edward Miller.

it is sometimes a little confusing. As much as possible of Dr. Scrivener's work is left in his own words, slight corrections being inserted on almost every page. And where it was necessary that the original author's statements should be modified to any great extent, Mr. Miller has called in the aid of some of the most learned specialists in England. Thus Mr. White, who has been engaged for years on the Oxford edition of the Vulgate, which associates his name with that of Bishop Wordsworth on the title-page, contributes the chapter on the Latin versions. Mr. Gwilliam and Mr. Deane have given assistance in the section on the Syriac versions; Mr. Headlam and Mr. Horner have helped in the account of Coptic MSS.; Mr. Conybeare has rewritten the chapter on the Armenian and Georgian, and Professor Margoliouth that on the Arabic and Ethiopic versions. In addition, Mr. Maunde Thompson has given his valuable aid in the palæographical sections of the book, and the editor acknowledges 'much help of a varied nature' from Professor Rendel Harris. The two bulky volumes which the book now fills contain an enormous mass of information; and it is safe to predict that, in spite of the rival claims of Dr. Gregory's admirable *Prolegomena*, which have lately been completed, Dr. Scrivener's book, in its new dress, will be widely used.

It will be found by anyone who takes the trouble to compare this edition with the last that the number of corrections that have been silently introduced by the editor into Dr. Scrivener's paragraphs is very large. And he has made some very important additions. For instance, an account of the important uncial codex of the first two Gospels designated as  $\Phi$  is now given, with a fine facsimile of a few lines of the text. This MS. is preserved at Belgrade, in Albania, whence it is generally called Codex Beratinus. It is described as magnificently written, in silver letters, on purple vellum, and the date of the writing

is fixed by experts at the end of the fifth century. The text has been published by M. Batiffol,<sup>1</sup> and is said to be of the type now usually called 'Syrian.'

In an Appendix to the first volume Mr. Miller incorporates Mr. Rendel Harris's ingenious explanation of the divisions of the Gospels into *ῥήματα*, which are found in a good many cursives. Mr. Harris suggests that these *ῥήματα* are taken from a Syriac table, inasmuch as the numbers given in many cursives (Matthew 2522, Mark 1675, Luke 3803, John 1938) agree very well with the numbers in a table found in a Syriac MS. at Mount Sinai, if we assume that the number for Luke (which is evidently too large<sup>2</sup>) should be 3083. It is interesting to observe that a similar stichometric table was found by Dr. Gwynn in the Crawford MS. of the Syriac New Testament,<sup>3</sup> though here the numbers require some explanation, being for Matthew 2520, Mark 1275, Luke 3083, John 2532.

The chapter on the Coptic versions of the New Testament is one of the most interesting in the second volume, as it deals with a subject which is daily growing in importance, and for the investigation of which new materials are coming in fast. When Bishop Lightfoot wrote the account of Coptic MSS. printed in the third edition of Scrivener's 'Introduction,' only three versions were known, and were designated 'Memphitic,' 'Thebaic,' and 'Bashmuri,' respectively. This is the division adopted, too, in the concluding fasciculus of Gregory's *Prolegomena*, which has just been published. Now, in the first place, Mr. Headlam points out that, in the opinion of the most

<sup>1</sup> *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, ser. 3, tom. 13, Paris, 1887 (a reference, by the way, which ought to have been given; we take it from Dr. Gregory's *Prolegomena*).

<sup>2</sup> The mistake would readily arise in

Syriac, of substituting 800 for 80, as it would merely involve the dotting of a numeral letter.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxx., p. 352.

recent investigators, no fragments whatever of the Bashmuri version are now extant, though that such a version was in existence at an early date seems certain. And all literature hitherto published as Bashmuri is, it seems, really in the language of the Fayoum, and should in future be called 'Fayoumic.' Further, documents which have been lately recovered from Akhmim, *e.g.* the 'Testament of Zephaniah,' published by M. Bouriant, appear to belong to another distinct dialect, which is named 'Akhmimic.' Here again, if we are to trust Mr. Headlam, Dr. Gregory has incorrectly described some of Mr. Petrie's papyri edited by Mr. Crum, for, while they are put down in Gregory's *Prolegomena* as 'Bashmuri,' Mr. Headlam tells us that they are 'Akhmimic.' The language of this version is said to be the oldest of all the Coptic dialects. And, once more, documents found near the site of the ancient Memphis seem to exhibit a dialect different from any of the others, for which the name 'Middle Egyptian' is proposed.

It appears from this last fact, that to describe the language of Lower Egypt (in which most of our Egyptian Biblical MSS. are written) as 'Memphitic,' as Tischendorf and Lightfoot did, is somewhat misleading, for this term might more fitly be applied to 'Middle Egyptian.' So this important North-Coptic version (which is now the Church language of the whole country) is designated in the new Scrivener by the name given to it by Athanasius of Cos in the eleventh century, viz. 'Bohairic.' To the study of the MSS. in this version Mr. Horner has devoted much labour; he 'has collated or examined all MSS. of the Bohairic version in European libraries,' and promises us some time an edition of the Bohairic New Testament, which will be a welcome addition to the materials of the Biblical critic. In an Appendix an account is given of the more important of the

Bohairic MSS. of the New Testament preserved in Egypt.

Only one version now remains to be spoken of, that formerly described as 'Thebaic,' which Mr. Headlam prefers to call 'Sahidic.'<sup>1</sup> It is in the language of Upper Egypt, the South-Coptic dialect. Great additions to our materials for the study of this version have lately been accumulated, and are enumerated by Mr. Headlam, who expresses the hope that M. Amélineau will shortly give us an edition of the Paris fragments at least. The linguistic peculiarities of this version have not, however, always received a due measure of attention, as Dr. Atkinson has taught us in his recent trenchant articles on the subject; and it is, above all things, desirable that whatever is printed should be worked over with care and without undue haste. Mr. Headlam considers it hardly possible at present to say anything definite as to the textual value of this version; he is not inclined, as it seems, to believe that it is any older than the Bohairic, though this is a point that can hardly as yet be fixed.

We have given a good deal of space to this section, because the matter is new, and it is of great importance. So fast have materials come in from Egypt, that instead of *three*, scholars now speak of *six* distinct dialects of the Coptic language, and in five of these do there seem to have been versions of the New Testament written at a very early date.

Mr. Miller is as warm an opponent as was Dr. Scrivener, or even Dean Burgon himself, of the principles of New Testament criticism expounded by Dr. Hort, so that, in this respect, the book is still on the old lines. And it is perhaps as well for Biblical criticism in these countries that it should be put before students at the commencement

<sup>1</sup> This is Tischendorf's *sah*; he cites the Bohairic version as *cop*.

of their studies, that, although Dr. Hort's conclusions 'hold the field,' and are very generally accepted, yet many of the fundamental principles which underlie these investigations are still *sub judice*.

A review of a book of this kind is, in one respect, somewhat difficult to write. It deals, for the most part, with facts, and not with theories; and thus the chief concern of the reviewer must be to furnish a list of addenda and corrigenda which may be useful to the reader, for a book of reference should, above all things, be accurate in small details. But in the present case, though we are going to point out some matters which ought to be mended, we desire to repeat that we are deeply conscious of the difficulties imposed on the editor by the enormous mass of material which he had to sift, and aggravated, as he tells us, by the short time allowed him by the publishers for the execution of his task. It is a great deal easier to point out mistakes in a book when printed than to keep them out of the 'copy' supplied to the printer.

A circumstance which must have embarrassed the editor a good deal is that Dr. Scrivener's third edition was hardly equal, in point of accuracy, to the other writings of that industrious and excellent scholar. In 1883 he was getting to be an old man, his sight was failing, and the multifarious duties of a large parish curtailed his leisure. And the result was, that the mistakes which he let pass were not a few. Shortly after the publication of this third edition there appeared (1885) a small volume in America, entitled '*Notes on Scrivener's Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*,' in the form of an Appendix to the *Andover Review*, vol. iii. This tract, compiled from Dr. Ezra Abbot's papers, with additions supplied by Professor Rendel Harris, Professor Warfield, and Dr. Gregory, contained about fifty pages of *Addenda* and *Corrigenda*. The present editor has incor-

porated many of these in the fourth edition, but he has not adopted them all. This, we think, is a matter for regret. For instance, the MS. numbered Evan 424 is described in the present as in the last edition of Scrivener as containing 'St. Luke, with the Commentary of Titus of Bostra and others.' But it really contains *no text* of St. Luke at all, and should, as Dr. Gregory notes in his *Prolegomena*, be removed from the list of cursives. And in like manner, Evan 432 only contains a commentary of Victor of Antioch on St. Mark, but *no text*, and should also, therefore, be struck out. Again, Dr. Ezra Abbot pointed out that Scrivener's note on Evst. 46 was 'a remarkable specimen of error and confusion,' and his elaborate discussion of the subject was printed in the Appendix to the *Andover Review*, to which we have already referred; but Scrivener's description is reproduced without alteration in the present edition.

Again Evan 472 = Act 235 of Scrivener's list should be struck out. Dr. Gregory pointed out in 1885 that this Poitiers MS. is only a copy of Stephen's edition of 1550, and is therefore of no independent authority; but yet it still retains its place among the Cursives of the Gospels and Acts. The full description given (p. 244, vol. i.), viz. Evan 472 (Act 235, Paul 276, Apoc. 103) is misleading in another way, for Paul 276 is really = Evan 796, Act 321, a MS. at Athens; and Apoc. 103 is a MS. of the Revelation at St. Petersburg (Gregory's 101). In Scrivener's present list, in other words, the numbers Paul 276 and Apoc. 103 are used for other codices; and, even if they were not, the MS. described as Evan 472 = Act 235 is not a true MS. at all.

Other instances of errors which have been repeated, although a correction was furnished in print as far back as 1885, are numerous; but we do not wish to undertake the ungrateful task of enumerating them. Suffice it to say,



that it is not safe to use even the fourth edition of Scrivener without constant reference to the Appendix to the *Andover Review*.

Evan 38 [Paris, Cod. Coislinianus, 200] is an unfortunate MS.; there seems to be a conspiracy among the critics to describe it inaccurately. Michaelis,<sup>1</sup> indeed, knew all about it, and correctly stated that it contained all the New Testament except the Apocalypse. But Montfaucon, in his Catalogue, had, by mistake, entered it as containing the Apocalypse and omitting the Pauline Epistles. This error of the press (for it could hardly have been more) has worked sad mischief. In Scrivener's third edition he described it as Evan 38 (Act 19, Apoc. 23), and explicitly declared that it contained all the New Testament except St. Paul's Epistles, though he seems to have had a suspicion that something was wrong, for he says in a note (Ed. III., p. 184), that it is strange to find it never cited by Stephen for the Apocalypse which it contains, and constantly for the Pauline Epistles which it omits! He got the numeration, *Apoc.* 23, from Scholz, who arbitrarily changed the numbering of Wetstein and Griesbach. Now, in the new edition before us, we have confusion worse than ever. Evan 38 is equated to Act 19 = Paul 23, although four lines further down the old blunder is reprinted, that the MS. contains all the New Testament *except St. Paul's Epistles*. In the first place it *does* contain the Pauline writings, and in the next place, though Wetstein numbered it Paul 23, that is not its number in Scrivener's list. The correct description is Evan 38 = Act 19 = Paul 341, and the state of the case is, as Michaelis and Wetstein said, that it contains the whole New Testament except the Apocalypse.

It is worth adding, that even Dr. Gregory's accurate

<sup>1</sup> *Introd. to the N.T.* (1793), ed. Marsh, vol. ii., p. 249.

tabulation is here at fault. In his *Prolegomena*, p. 471, he (like the new edition of Scrivener) equates Evan 38 to Paul 23.<sup>1</sup> This, as we have said, is Wetstein's number which no one follows now; and Dr. Gregory has given on pp. 619 and 670, the correct numeration. On his system Evan 38 = Act 19 = Paul 377.

Mr. Miller complains that Dr. Gregory's procedure in altering the numbers for many of the cursives agreed on by Burgon and Scrivener has not only largely increased the labour of revising Scrivener's book, but will be a cause of much inconvenience to students. And though there is no use now in going into the respective merits of the two systems, there is no doubt that it is extremely troublesome in practice to be obliged to look up every MS. in two indices, instead of in one only. Mr. Miller has done a good service in printing a table at the end of his first volume similar to the table given by Dr. Gregory, which much facilitates cross references from one system to the other.

We make a few more observations on the cursives before we leave them. Evan 57 is not = Act 85, as it is misprinted in the book under review, but is = Act 35. Of Evann 59, 66, 492, 503, 556, 604, &c., it might be added that fuller descriptions and collations are given in Scrivener's *Adversaria Critica Sacra*, which has lately appeared. It should be noted that, according to the Abbé Martin, Evan 348 belongs to the Ferrar-Abbott group, in which we in Dublin have a special interest. This conclusion is also mentioned, but without definite approval, in the *Adversaria* (p. xviii). That Evan 549 = Act 219 is a point which should be noted on p. 254.

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written, we have come across the review in the *Guardian*, May 30, of the book before us, and note that the reviewer, though

criticising the account of Evan 38, yet asserts the identity of it with Paul 23. Truly this is a perplexing ms.

Evan 568 merits a fuller description. The part of this MS. containing the Gospels is one of the Burney manuscripts in the British Museum; in this volume are also two leaves of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Now, Dr. Gregory found, in 1884, the rest of the MS. containing the Acts and Epistles at Metz, where it yet remains. There is no hint given in the new Scrivener that the MS. thus exists in two divisions, though, of course, the explanation of the omission may be, that Mr. Miller did not like (as he tells us, vol. i., p. 379) to take more of the information supplied in Dr. Gregory's work than was absolutely necessary. At any rate some additions and corrections should be made in the account of it. On p. 256 the MS. should be described as Evan 568 (Acts 110, Paul 259), and on p. 314 it is a mistake to identify Paul 259 with h<sup>scr</sup>; it is really j<sup>scr</sup> (as correctly stated on p. 256). And the reference on p. 314 to Act 189 is wrong and should be struck out. As the description at present stands of Act 110 = Paul 259, it would seem as if it might be seen at the British Museum, whereas this part of the Codex is, as we have said, at Metz.

Evan 110 and 609 are identified with Gregory's Evan 1260 and 552; these are misprints. 110 (Scr.) = 1268 (Greg.); and 609 (Scr.) = 555 (Greg.). On p. 312 Paul 181 should be identified with Evan 365, *not* Evan 643. On p. 318, Paul 396 is wrongly equated to Act 418; it should read Act 201; and similarly on p. 324 Apoc. 86 should be equated to Act 201, not Act 251, as is printed in error. On p. 322, Apoc. 54 (Evan 263) is a wrong entry. Evan 263 (Act 117, Paul 137) does not contain the Apocalypse. 54 is therefore a vacant number for cursive MSS. of the Apocalypse, as Dr. Gregory notes in his *Prolegomena*.

On p. 219 a confusing misprint in the table of *corrigenda* which Dr. Scrivener prefixed to Ed. III. has been reproduced. Evan 201 (Act 91, Paul 104, Apoc. 94) is m<sup>scr</sup> in

the Gospels, and b<sup>scr</sup> in the Apocalypse; but it is h<sup>scr</sup> in the Acts and Pauline Epistles, *not* p<sup>scr</sup>, which is quite a different MS. in the Acts, and does not exist for the Pauline Epistles.<sup>1</sup>

The description of the ninth-century fragment of an Evangelistarium, numbered 493, has accidentally been omitted in the new edition. In the third edition it was called Evan A (1) (it was discovered by Tischendorf at Mount Sinai, and described by him in the Vienna *Jahrbücher der Literatur* for 1846); but as it is only part of a lectionary, its proper place is among the Evangelistaria. Accordingly the description given in the third edition, under Evan A, is left out altogether. But this seems to have been forgotten as the work advanced, for the only account given on p. 357 of the new edition is '493 Sinaiticus (A. 1, see under Evan A) [Greg. 312].' On p. 147 the present home of the uncial fragment known as T<sup>wol</sup> should be given. It is preserved at the Clarendon Press, Oxford.<sup>2</sup>

A more important omission is that we find nowhere mentioned an interesting twelfth-century cursive of the Gospels collated by Mr. Hoskier (to whom it belongs), and mentioned in Scrivener's *Adversaria*, p. xliii.<sup>3</sup> It was fully described by Mr. Hoskier in an appendix to his account of Evan 604 (D. Nutt, 1890). It should be num-

<sup>1</sup> We take the opportunity of noting that there is a misprint in Gregory's *Prolegomena*, about Act 91, which should be corrected. On p. 795, it is correctly stated that h<sup>scr</sup> = Act 91; but in the next column m<sup>scr</sup> is also identified with Act 91. This is a misprint for 31, the number of the famous Leicester Codex in the Acts, which Scrivener cites as m (see *Cod. Augiensis*, p. 287).

<sup>2</sup> Of Evan 461 (Greg. 592) it is stated

that the order is *Cath. Paul. syn. Gospels*. This would be curious; but Dr. Gregory's statement is that the Gospels appear in the last place only *through a mistake of the binder*.

<sup>3</sup> By the way, it is there wrongly numbered 618. It has no number, as we have said, in Scrivener's list; but is numbered 1278 by Dr. Gregory in the last fasciculus of his *Prolegomena* (p. 1309).

bered, and might very well take the place of Evan 472, of which we have already spoken.

Our collection of Greek MSS. of the New Testament at Dublin is small; but it is not so small as would appear from the list on p. 395. There are mentioned Codex Z, the fragment described as Evst 454, and the fourteenth-century cursive MS.<sup>1</sup> of part of the Epistle to the Romans, collated by Dr. Abbott in a former number of *HERMATHENA*,<sup>2</sup> which now for the first time appears in print with a distinctive number, viz. 'Paul 490.' But Evann. 61 and 63, the celebrated Codex Montfortianus, and the interesting cursive of the tenth century, which came to us through Ussher, are here omitted, though they are fully described under their respective numbers.

As we are on the subject of Dublin MSS., we may add that in the chapter on the Latin Versions in vol. ii. there is no mention of the Book of Dimma, which is one of the most interesting of the treasures of our Library, and quite as well deserving of attention as the Book of Moling. But this section is admirably done, and there is hardly anything for the most captious critic to find fault with. We observe that the reference given (p. 53) to the first volume (p. 176) for an account of the old Latin version (*e*) of the bilingual Codex Sangermanensis (*E*) of the Pauline Epistles does not enable the reader to find out what he really wants to know in all such cases, viz. where a collation or edition of the MS. has been printed. The Latin version *e* is important, and it was published by J. Belsheim at Christiania in 1885.

The reference on p. 71, vol. ii, from the Vulgate MS. 31 to 161, seems to be wrong. It is 162 that contains the apocryphal correspondence between St. Paul and the Corinthian elders.

<sup>1</sup> This is a paper MS., not vellum, as implied *e silentio*, on p. 319, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermathena*, xviii. p. 233 (1892).

In the interesting account of the Georgian version by Mr. Conybeare (vol. ii., pp. 156-8) the second and third paragraphs seem to refer to some collations which do not appear in the volume at all. It is probable that they have been omitted from considerations of space; but the paragraphs require emendation in consequence.

A few additional corrections of minor importance may here be printed. In vol. i., p. 214, l. 3, *for* p. 69, *read* p. 72; on p. 261, last line but one, the note of interrogation should be omitted, for Evan 608 (Scr.) is *certainly* identical with 1274 (Greg.); on p. 262, l. 17, *after* See 5<sup>th</sup>, note, *add* p. 245; p. 344, last line, *for* Evst 289, *read* Evst 290; on p. 357, in the account of Evst 491, *for* Princetown, New Caesarea, *read* Princeton, New Jersey. And although only 491 cursives of the Pauline Epistles and 184 of the Apocalypse are noted in their proper place, we find mention of Paul 492, Paul 493 = Apoc. 185, and Paul 494, on p. 306.

J. H. BERNARD.

PROPERTIANA.

I. i. 13.

Ille etiam psilli percussus vulnere rami  
Saucius Arcadiis rupibus ingemuit.

*Hylaei* is universally read for *psilli*. *Hylaeus* was the name of the centaur who was a rival of Milanion for the affections of Atalanta: Ov. Art. 2, 195: Sensit et Hylaei contentum saucius arcum. *Hylaei*, however, is too far from *psilli*. Propertius places the scene of this conflict in Arcadia; and I think the true reading is *Pylii*. The Triphylian Pylos was by some authors classed as an Arcadian town. *Pylii* would go through the following natural changes: *pylii*, *pili*, *pilli*. Then the copyist, perhaps remembering the *Psilli* of Lucan, put in the *s*. Cf. iv. 9, 15:

*Maenalis* iacuit pulsus tria tempora ramo.

I. vi. 33, 34.

Seu pedibus terras seu pontum carpere remis  
Ibis, et accepti pars eris imperii.

Perhaps we should read *aspecti*: 'an officer in a government revered, looked up to' (by the provincials).

2. 28. 11, 12.

Num sibi collatam doluit Venus? illa peraeque  
Prae se formosis invidiosa dea est.  
An contempta tibi Iunonis templa Pelasgae?  
Palladis aut oculos ausa negare bonos?

*Templa*, as has been pointed out, is not the idea wanted;

and, as Postgate says, *templa* may have been generated by *contempta*. Perhaps *fama*, written accidentally *fana*; hence it would more easily pass into *templa*.

II. xxxii. 13.

Et platanis creber pariter surgentibus ordo.

The MSS. have *urgentibus*. Probably the true reading is *vergentibus*, to be explained of the even perspective of a long range of trees.

3. 17. 3.

Tu potes insane Veneris compescere fastus,  
Curarumque tuo fit medicina mero.

I formerly proposed *flammas* for *fastus* which is absurd, comparing Ovid, *Her.* 16. 229—

Saepe mero flammam volui compescere : at illa  
Crevit et ebrietas ignis in igne fuit.

I now think *et aestus* better, 'even the fever of love.'

*Et*, 'even,' is a favourite form of expression with Propertius: cf. 2. 23. 1, Cui fuit indocti fugienda *et* semita vulgi, 'even the path'; 3. 11. 30, *Et* famulos inter femina trita suos, 'even the servants'; 2. 9. 18, Tunc etiam felix inter *et* arma pudor, 'even in war, and in such a rude age.' And in 2. 28. 29, 30, I shall read—

Et tibi Maeonias heroidas inter *et* omnes  
Primus erit nulla non tribuente locus.

N has—

Et tibi Maeonias inter heroidas omnis.

D V, of whose worthlessness as independent witnesses I am every day more convinced, have—

Et tibi Maeonias omnis heroidas inter.

N's rendering is, in my opinion, a correction of the



archetype, which, accidentally omitting *et* before *omnis*, ran, I think—

Et tibi Maeonias heroidas inter omnis.

The rendering of D V seems to me to have been a correction of the rendering of N, to avoid the false quantity.

So 1. 16. 11, 12—

Nec tamen illa suae revocatur parcere famae,  
Turpior et saeculi vivere luxuria.

Here I take *et* as 'even,' and *vivere* as the prolative infinitive after *Turpior*, 'living a fouler life than even this wanton age.'

4. 1. 49, 50.

Si modo Avernalis tremulae cortina Sibyllae  
Dixit Aventino rura pianda Remo.

I suggest to read *rutra* for *rura*. Remus was slain by a blow of a spade by Celer: Ov. Fast. 4. 843: rutro Celer occupat ausum. This was regarded by Propertius as a righteous act, preordained by fate, as necessary for the security of Rome. Cf. 3. 9, 50: caeso moenia firma Remo. But the verse wants further emendation.

In 3. 9. 39, *arcus* might be suggested for *arces*; 4. 5. 19, *vermis* for *verbis*, or *blatta* for *blanda*; *umbrosi*—*Liris*, 1. 20. 7; *Zae* for *Zethi*, 3. 15. 41—*Zaiá* was a very old town of Boeotia; *quod se*, 2. 23. 17, for *quod te* (probably anticipated).

A. PALMER.

# HERMATHENA:

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LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND  
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BY

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# HERMATHENA.



## DE DUPLICI FORMA ACTORUM LUCAE.

**E**IS quae ego in Diariis Halensibus (*Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1894, 1) exposui de duplici forma, quae Actorum Lucae adhuc exstat, ostendens non aliunde eam explicandam esse quam inde quod ipse auctor libellum suum bis scripserit, nuper obviam ivit vir doctissimus F.H.Chase (*The Critical Review*, 1894, pp. 300 sqq.). Interim ego in Actorum editione, quae his ipsis mensibus prodiit, sententiam meam iterum explicavi, sed non potui ibi rationem habere eorum quae ille opposuerat, partim propter tempora ipsa, partim quod locus non erat late evagandi. Non autem videtur sine responso aliquo ille dimittendus, et sunt quae ad corroborandam meam sententiam ipse promere possim.

Quinque argumentis putat adversarius id quod ego statui plane refelli et ad nihilum redigi, ex quibus id quod ultimo loco posuit quodque fortissimum videri potest primum examinabo. Dicit enim Actorum recensionem quam D codex cum sociis exhibet non aliter differre a vulgari, quam euangeliorum recensio, ut eodem teste tradita est, ab horum vulgari differat; itaque si vera sit mea explicatio, consequens esse ut idem de quattuor

euangelis statuendum sit; sed verisimiliter id statui numquam posse. Itaque si alia in euangelis explicatio quaerenda sit, eandem ad Acta quoque applicandam. Quibus quid opponi potest nisi hoc, non esse euangeliorum condicionem eandem quam Actorum? Id ego dudum feci; sed miratur adversarius et confidentia summa eandem esse affirmat. Probare affirmationem suam non magis ille illo loco potuit quam ego adhuc negationem meam; nunc autem hoc ipsum iam mihi aggrediendum est.

Incipiamus, si placet, a *Matthaeo*, quaestionisque statum quam clarissime proponamus. Recensio  $\beta$  (sic enim appello eam quae D codice ceterisque praebetur) ab  $\alpha$  eo differt, quod est in universum prolixior, neque pauca verba tantum sed saepe etiam integras sententias additas habet; tum sunt subinde pro aliis verbis alia posita, manente eadem sententia, sed ita ut a fortuitis causis vel errore vulgari eius diversitatis origo repeti non possit. Itaque si horum similia etiam apud Matthaeum reperientur, id erit contra me; si autem nihil simile, id pro me erit; manifestum enim erit non apud auctorem recensionis  $\beta$ , quisquis fuit (certe non librarius qui D scripsit), causas diversitatis quae in Actis conspicitur quaerendas esse, sed in libri ipsius condicione qua antiquitus traditus est. Nempe si auctor recensionis fuisset in causa, futurum erat ut idem Matthaei quoque verba eadem licentia refingeret. Videamus igitur quid sit rei, sed ita ut arceantur a quaestione primum omnes lectionis varietates leviusculae, quales et in quovis scriptore reperiuntur et in Novi Testamenti libris omnibus; deinde etiam ea quae ex admistione alius cuiusdam euangelii explicentur; quod genus corruptelae in euangelis quam late serpserit omnes sciunt. Apud Matthaeum haec sunt ex eo genere: 5, 44 DEKL al. add. εὐλογεῖτε κτέ. aliaque ibid., ex Luca.—8, 13  $\aleph^*$  et  $\epsilon$  C E al. (deficit D) add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος κτέ., sec. Luc.—9, 34 om. D a k; e 12, 24. Mc. 3, 22 ἰ—10, 12 λέγοντες κτέ.

add.  $\aleph^*$  et  $^{ob}$  D L ital. pler. vulg., e Lc.—10, 18 D *ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων σταθήσεσθε*, e Mc.—14, 2 D ital. quidam add. *δὲ ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα*, e Lc. 17, 21  $\aleph^c$  C D etc., e Mc. 18, 11 om.  $\aleph$  B L\* e ff, fluxit e Lc. 21, v. 44 om. D ital. Origen., hab.  $\aleph$  A B etc.; et ipse fluxit e Lc. 23, v. 14 e Mc. et Lc.; om. etiam D, part. it. 24, 31 *ἀρχομένων δὲ κτέ.* add. D bchq e Lc. v. 35 om.  $\aleph^*$  solus, sit e Mc. Lc.; v. Tschd. 41 add. D ital. pler., e Lc. 26, 70 D  $\Delta$  a b n al. add. *οὐδὲ ἐπίσταμαι*, e Mc. 27, 35  $\Delta$  a b c al. add. *ἵνα πληρωθῇ κτέ.*, cf. Ioh. 49 *ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν κτέ.*, sec. Ioh., om. A D al. it. vulg., hab.  $\aleph$  B C al. Apparet omnes codices huius culpae consortes esse, ne  $\aleph$  B quidem exceptis; sed tota res nihil nunc est ad nos. Ea quoque ab hac quaestione segreganda, quae e deperdito aliquo euangelio adscripta esse videntur: minime enim est probabile fuisse etiam de eis rebus, quae Actis continentur, alia quaedam scripta unde Lucae opus interpolatum sit. Pertinent ad id genus hi maxime loci: 3, 15 a g<sup>1</sup>, cf. Tschd. 16, 2-4 *ὀψίας γενομένης κτέ.* om.  $\aleph$  B al. syr. Curet.; cf. Tschd., W.-H. 20, 28 D ital. syr. Curet. al. add. *ὁμοῖς δὲ ζητεῖτε κτέ.* Longum est totum eum locum apocryphum adscribere; verum haec sunt in paucis versibus quae ab usu Matthaei vehementer recedant (cf. Scrivener Cod. Cantabr. p. xlix): *ττ* in *ἐλατον, ἥττονα, ἥττων; ἐξέχειν* (nusquam N. T.), *δειπνοκλήτωρ* (it.), *χρήσιμος* (ad Timoth. ii. 2, 14), *ἐνδοξος* (Luc. Paul.), *ἔτι κάτω* et *ἔτι ἄνω* pro *κατωτέρω, ἀνωτέρω* vel *-ώτερον* (ut est ap. Luc. 14, 10), *σύναγε ἔτι ἄνω* (nisi corruptum). At in eis quae in Actis addit D est consueta Lucae forma dicendi, quod cum et ipsum in crimen vertat adversarius, postmodo considerabimus. Tertium est genus locorum, quibus e Matthaeo ipso aliquid adiectum sit, quod recte se habet alio loco (ut 20, 16 *πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσι κτέ.*, e 22, 14); quartum ubi cum ex VT. aliquid neglegentius et brevius afferatur, suppleverint homines e loco unde sumptum est; putaverim equidem 4, 4, *ἐκπορευομένη διὰ στόματος* recte a D et lat.



quibusdam abesse, in ceteros devenisse e Deuteronomio, maxime cum apud Lucam, in quem ex Matthaeo hoc membrum ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι κτέ. immigravit, verba ἐκπορ. δ. στόμ. a plerisque omittantur. Deinde est quintum genus corruptelae, quod locis difficilioribus quaedam adscripserunt vel illustrandi vel emolliendi gratia, velut ἐκτῇ, 5, 22, ad praeceptum de ira. Addo sextum: est enim ubi ea quae D praebet videri possint per negligentiam in aliis omissa esse, velut 10, 23; ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν (εἰς τὴν ἄλλην CE al., quod sensu apud hos scriptores non diversum est); addunt DL et lat. quidam et Syr. Lew.<sup>1</sup> et *Origenes*: κἂν (ἐὰν δὲ D) ἐν τῇ ἑτέρῃ (ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ D, ἐκ ταύτης L Orig.) διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς (πάλιν pro ὑμ. Orig.), φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην. Profecto nihil facilius erat quam ut haec omitterentur, et suadent quae adduntur οὐ μὴ τελέσητε τὰς πόλεις Ἰσραὴλ κτέ., ut putemus antea non de duobus tantum oppidis dictum fuisse, sed de pluribus. Sunt similia omissionis exempla (in B<sup>8</sup> D al.) ibd. v. 37, 41. Verum hoc totum genus sextum minime late patet, nequis putet me hoc modo refugium mihi parare velle, quo nequaquam mihi opus est. Detractis enim his omnibus, quorum causae eiusmodi sunt ut ad Actorum locos, de quibus agitur, aut plane nihil aut non multum valere possint, vide quantillum locorum ex toto Matthaeo iam relictum sit. 5, 12, τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν] D add. ὑπάρχοντας. 6, 8, αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν] ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα D h, quod videri potest verum esse. 9, 29, ὀμμάτων D pro ὀφθαλμῶν: cf. 20, 34. 10, 6, πορεύεσθε δὲ] ὑπάγετε D (δὲ abesse nequit). 13, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾗ ἀξία] εἰ δὲ μή γε D, quod exstat 6, 1. 9, 17, et hic quoque minime deterius sit. 14, τῆς οἰκίας ἢ om. D, casu ut vid. 16, ἀκέραιοι] ἀπλόστατοι D.<sup>2</sup> 12, 15 sq. πάντες δὲ οὓς ἐθεράπευσεν ἐπέπληξεν αὐτοῖς D ital. part., pro πάντας, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Lectiones codicis Syriaci a femina doctissima A. S. Lewis inventi editique in usum meum convertit collega

coniunctissimus Franc. Praetorius.

<sup>2</sup> Alieni a N. T. superlativi in -τατος (praeter Act. 26, 5).

ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς (ἐπιπλήσσειν 1 Tim. 5, 1, nusquam alibi N. T.). 13, 17, εἶδαν] ἡδυνήθησαν ἰδεῖν D (cf. Io. 14, 5 X A C etc.). 48, καλά] κάλλιστα<sup>1</sup> D, *optimos* sive -a lat. quid. 49, αἰῶνος] κόσμου D. 15, 35, post ἐκείνου ital. quid. (non D) add. *adorabant eum et* (nempe ex 33). 17, 1, εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν κατ' ἰδίαν] εἰς ὁ. ὑ. λίαν D (Euseb.); ap. Mc. 9, 2 est ὑψ. λίαν in X. 2, ὡς τὸ φῶς] ὡς χιῶν D ital. vulg., cf. c. 28, 3; eadem ap. Mc. 9, 3 add. A D N al. it. pler. vulg. etc. 12, οὕτως καὶ ὁ . . . αὐτῶν post 13 demum D it. part. 15, πολλάκις] ἐνίστε<sup>2</sup> D Orig. (cf. ital.). 18, 9, τὸ αὐτὸ εἰ καὶ D pro καὶ εἰ. 19, 1, ἐτέλεισεν] ἐλάλησεν D it. 25, ἐξεπλήθουσιν] καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν add. D it. part. Syr. Cur. (cf. 17, 6). 21, 29, εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα post ἀπῆλθεν add. D ital. pler. 30, ὑπάγω add. D. 22, 13, δῆσαντες αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας] D it. part. Syr. Cur. Syr. Lew. ἄρατε αὐτὸν ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ (C al. δῆσαντες α. π. κ. χ. ἄρατε καὶ). Facile haec lectio potior videri potest. 25, 1, τοῦ νυμφίου] καὶ τῆς νύμφης add. D X\* it. vulg. al. 25, 10, D (it. part.) ἔως ὑπάγουσιν pro ἀπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν. 41, ἡτοιμασμένον] ὁ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ μου D ital. part. al. 26, 15, ἀργύρια] D a b q Euseb. Orig. στατήρας (1. 209. ἡ στ. ἀργυρίου). 24, διὰ τοῦτο ante καλὸν add. D. 60, in loco plurimae var. lect., D post εὖρον bis add. τὸ ἐξῆς (lat. quid. *exitum rei* vel *culpram* vel alia). 73, δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ] ὁμοιάζει D, *similis est* lat. quid. Syr. Lew. (it. in additam. ex Matth. ap. Mc. 14, 70 A N al.; est vocabulum ea signific. ap. Mt. 23, 27 sec. B, et cum nusquam in N. T. δῆλος exstet praeterquam ap. Paulum, contendere possis verum esse ὁμοιάζει, adulteratum δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ). 27, 28, ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν καὶ ante χλαμύδα κοκκίνην add. D it. part.; videtur esse explicatio. 32, post Κυρηναῖον D it. part. add. εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ (cf. 8, 34; 25, 1, 6). Iam igitur interrogo: estne quisquam qui propter hos locos sive propter hos cum aliis, ubi etiam minor est differentia, opinari possit exstare Matthaei duplicem

<sup>1</sup> Nusquam est in N. T. κάλλιστος.<sup>2</sup> Ἐνιοι, ἐνίστε nusquam sunt in N. T.

recensionem ab auctore profectam? Quid? rectene dici potest eandem esse, quod ad D attinet, Matthaei atque Actorum condicionem? Immo sic certe adversario affirmandum fuit: esse eandem euangeliorum condicionem quam Actorum, *excepto tamen Matthaeo*.

Veniamus ad Iohannem, ita tamen ut sex illa genera quae in Matthaeo descripsimus in universum iam non curemus. Secundi quidem generis est locus celeberrimus de muliere adultera (7, 53—8, 11), cuius exstant manifesto duae recensiones, altera in D, altera in libris vulgatis. Quae si inde repeti possent, quod etiam per reliquum libellum similiter D a societate ceterorum descisceret, esset id pro adversario; si autem non desciscit praeter hanc unam sectionem, haec quidem mihi nihil negotii facesset, cum de origine eius nihil sciamus. Sed quinti generis fines erunt in Iohanne paullulum dilatandi, cum plura interdum maioreque cum licentia explicandi causa adscripta sint. Luculentissimum exemplum est in c. 5, 3 sq.; nempe v. 3 A<sup>2</sup> C<sup>3</sup> D I etc. add. illa ἐκδεχόμενων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν, tum A C<sup>3</sup> E F G H al. (sed non D) v. 4 ἄγγελος γὰρ (vel δὲ) κυρίου (om. quid.) κατὰ καιρὸν (κ. κ. om. quid.) κατέβαινεν (sed ἐλούετο A al.) ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ καὶ ἐτάρασσε (vel -ετο) τὸ ὕδωρ· ὁ οὖν πρῶτος ἐμβὰς μετὰ τὴν ταραχὴν τοῦ ὕδατος (μετὰ . . . ὕδ. om. quid.) ὑγιὲς ἐγένετο, ᾧ δῆποτε (οἷω δημοτοῦν) κατέχετο νοσήματι. Sed nusquam est in N. T. δς δῆποτε neque οἷος δημοτοῦν, neque κατέχεσθαι νοσήματι (sed συνέχ. potius) neque ipsum νόσημα (sed νόσος); statim igitur, sicut in Matthaeo vidimus, proditur additamentum alieno et sententiae et dictionis colore. Item recte omittunt 4, 9 N<sup>2</sup> D a b e verba οὐ γὰρ συγχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρίταις, cum συγχρῆσθαι a N. T. alienum sit,<sup>1</sup> et 13, 24 B C I L X ital. πῦθίσθαι τίς ἂν εἴη, cum optativi nullum sit apud Iohannem exemplum. Etsi hoc quidem loco fortasse ne

<sup>1</sup> Syr. Lew. haec habet, sed om. D), fort. non minus recte. γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὐσης (οὐσης om.

Vaticani quidem lectio sincera sit, nihil autem genuinum praeter νεύει οὖν τούτῳ Σίμων Πέτρος. ἐπιπεσὼν ἐκείνος κτέ. ; explicatio fuit aut πυθέσθαι τίς ἂν εἴη (περὶ οὗ ἔλεγεν) aut καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· τίς ἐστίν (περὶ οὗ λέγει). Alias interpolationes breviter indico : 6, 22, ἐκεῖνο εἰς δ κτέ. (om.  $\aleph^*$  A B L it. pler. vulg.). 23 (genuinum sit nihil nisi ἐγγὺς οὔσης; εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου om. D a e Syr. Cur.). 7, 50 (sincere  $\aleph^*$ ). 11, 39 (ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος om. a b c e ff<sup>1</sup> etc.). 41 (om.  $\aleph$  B C<sup>\*</sup> D ital. pler. vulg.). 13, 10 (sine additam.  $\aleph$  et lat. quid.). 11 (διὰ τοῦτο κτέ. om. D Syr. Hieros. rectissime). 19, 16 (om. B L X a b c e ff<sup>2</sup>). Quod genus cum nihilo magis ad D pertineat quam ad quemvis reliquorum, haec tantum habet quae nobis notanda sint : primum colorem subinde diversum a reliqua narratione, deinde quod apud alios testes alia forma esse solet, tertium quod nihil additur quod non aut valde absonum sit (sicut illa 5, 4) aut nihil nos doceat. Sed quid dicemus de loco 2, 3? Ibi est sec.  $\aleph^*$  a b ff<sup>2</sup> (deficit D) : καὶ οἶνον οὐκ εἶχον, ὅτι συνετέλεσθη ὁ οἶνος τοῦ γάμου. εἴτα λέγει ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ 'Ι πρὸς αὐτόν· οἶνος οὐκ ἐστίν ( $\aleph^*$ ; sed a etc. ut B al.); sec. reliquos autem : καὶ ὑστερήσαντος οἶνου, λέγει ἡ μ. τ. 'Ι. πρὸς α.· οἶνον οὐκ ἔχουσιν. Non est συνετελεσθῆναι hoc sensu in N. T., sed apud Iohannem ne ὑστερεῖν quidem est; εἴτα autem ( $\aleph$ ) abunde tutum locis 13, 5; 19, 27 (ε. λέγει); 20, 27 (it.). An hic duplicem recensionem agnoscemus? Conferas alia haec : 6, 15, ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρπάζειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναδεικνύναι βασιλέα  $\aleph^*$  (et facere regem q), ἔρχ. κ. ἀρπ. α. ἵνα ποιήσωσιν (αὐτὸν) βασιλέα B D etc. (non est ἀναδεικνύναι nisi ap. Lc.); ibd. φεύγει  $\aleph^*$  it. part. vulg. Syr. Cur., sed ἀνεχώρησεν rell., quod non est praeterea ap. Ioh.; 17, κατέλαβεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ σκοτία  $\aleph$  D (cf. 12, 35) pro σκοτία ἤδη ἐγεγόνει; 24, ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον  $\aleph^*$ , ἐνέβησαν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰ πλοιάρια  $\aleph^*$  B, ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς πλοιάρια (πλοιάριον ff<sup>2</sup>) D b ff<sup>2</sup> 1, alii denique aliter; 25, ἦλθες  $\aleph$ , ἐλήλυθας D (venisti ital. pler. vulg.) pro γέγονας. Non est fortasse omnibus his locis eadem expli-

catio adhibenda; 6, 24, facile putare possis omnes lectiones spurias esse, genuinum nihil nisi ἦλθον εἰς Καφαρναούμ, cum per se appareat eis navigiis eos usos esse. Id igitur de his dicere satis habeo, non D codicis causam agi sed Sinaitici, quocum nobis nunc nihil rei est, et sicubi sit duplex recensio agnoscenda, ad paucos locos id pertinere, non ad totum Iohannem. D autem sociique quid soli praebeant iam videamus. C. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, Italae quidam codices (maxime e) pleniora quaedam praebeant; deficit in hoc capite D. 3, 6, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐγεννήθη et ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστίν cod. 161 ital. part. Syr. Cur. (sed hi *quia deus spiritus est* (sim. Syr. Lew.), sive praeter haec *et de deo natus est*). Def. D. 5, 26, ὁ ζῶν ad πατὴρ add. D. 6, 1, εἰς τὰ μέρη ante Τιβεριάδος add. D b e syr. post. 15, προσήνυχετο add. D, cf. Matth. 14, 23. 42, ἐαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβιβηκέναι D (Chrysost.) pro ὅτι ἐκ τ. ο. καταβίβηκα. 56 add. D: καθὼς ἐν ἡμοῖς ὁ πατὴρ καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ. ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ λάβητε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὡς τὸν ἄρτον τῆς ζωῆς, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς (a ff<sup>2</sup> *si acceperit homo corpus filii hominis quemadmodum panem vitae, habebit vitam in eo* [ff<sup>2</sup> *illo*]). Hic quidem locus sane singularis est neque facile expeditur; sed si quis dicat casu in plerisque libris haec excidisse, quae incipiunt a καθὼς excipiunturque (v. 67) eadem particula, aegre is refelli poterit. 9, 1, auctus D ex 8; item 29 ex 31. 10, 38, θέλετε πιστεύειν D pro πιστεύετε. 11, 9, δώδεκα ὥρας ἔχει ἡ ἡμέρα D pro δ. ὥραί εἰσιν τῆς ἡμέρας. 28, λάθρα] D σιωπῇ. 33, D (sahid. Münsteri, arm.) ἐταράχθη τῷ πνεύματι ὡς ἐμβριμούμενος pro ἐνεβριμήσατο τ. πν. καὶ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτόν. 47, πολλὰ] τοιαῦτα D b c e ff<sup>2</sup>. 13, 1, παρὴν D pro ἦλθεν vel ἐλήλυθεν. 9, a b e l m add. *et totum corpus*. 14, πόσῳ μᾶλλον add. D ital. quid. 14, 1, praem. D a c (simil. euangelisteria): καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ. 30, εὑρεῖν ad ἔχει οὐδὲν add. D a. 16, 19, ἐπερωτῆσαι περὶ τούτων pro ἔρωτᾶν. 17, 3, εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον add. D. 10, δεδύξασμαι] ἐδόξασάς με D. 20, 18, D e καὶ ᾧ εἶπεν αὐτῷ

ἐμήνυνσεν αὐτοῖς, pro καὶ ταῦτα εἶπεν αὐτῇ. 27, μὴ ἴσθι D pro μὴ γίνου (*noli esse* lat.). 21, 2, ὃς ἦν ἀπὸ D (cf. ital. vulg.) pro ὁ ἀπὸ. 7, ἤλατο D pro ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν. 13, εὐχαριστήσας add. D f g mm. 23, ὅτι] καὶ ἔδοξαν ὅτι D. Sed iam taedet minutiarum. Apparet esse Iohannis librum interpretamentis magis auctum quam Matthaei, sed vix esse in maiore culpa D quam reliquos; genus autem eorum interpretamentorum longe diversum esse ab his quae in Actis β recensitionis propria sunt. Num igitur quisquam opinari potest exstare Iohannei libri duplicem recensitionem ab auctore ipso profectam? num recte dici potest eandem esse, quod ad D attineat, huius libri condicionem atque Actorum? Itaque sic certe adversario affirmandum fuit: euangeliorum Actorumque eandem esse condicionem, *exceptis tamen Matthaeo et Iohanne*.

Marcum tertio loco examinamus. Est autem apud hunc tanta vis variae lectionis undique coartae, ut praestet aliam atque antea feci rationem sequi. Quenam igitur in primo capite habet D, quibus a ceteris testibus differat? Hoc enim si viderimus, de reliqua parte libelli breviores esse poterimus. V. 2, ὡς pro καθώς, cum A al.; sed talia omnino sunt praetereunda; item omissum τῷ ante Ἡσαΐα, ἐγὼ omissum cum B. 3, τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν D, item (sed *nostri*) a b c etc. (pro αὐτοῦ), nempe e LXX. 4, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ βαπτίζων D it. (exc. f) vulg., pro ὁ βαπτ. (βαπτ. A al.) ἐν τ. ἐ. 5, ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ pro ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰ. ποταμῷ (ποτ. om. etiam a b c e ff<sup>3</sup> mt; ὑπ' αὐτοῦ postpositum et. A al. a). 6, recte, ut dudum exposui, D (a b ff<sup>3</sup> mt) δέξριν καμήλου pro τρίχας καμήλου καὶ ζώνην . . . αὐτοῦ, quae e Matthaeo interpolata sunt. 7, ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς D a pro ἐκήρυσσειν λέγων. Verba Iohannis v. 7, 8, in D a ff<sup>3</sup> ad Matthaei Lucaeque similitudinem conformata sunt. 9, ἐκείναις post ἡμέραις D lat. part. 10, εὐθὺς om. D a b. σχιζομένους] ἡνοιγμένους D it. vulg. (sec. Matth. Lc.). 12, τὸ ἄγιον post πνεῦμα add. D. ἐκβάλλει αὐτὸν pro α. ἐκβ. D al. 13, ἡμέρας



τεσσαράκοντα AD al. pro τεσσ. ἡμ.; add. LM c ff<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup> l vulg.  
 καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας (s. v. τεσσ.), e Mt., et D quoque καὶ  
 addit (*et temptabatur* d it. vulg. pro *πειραζόμενος*, quod et. in  
 D est). 14, καὶ μετὰ BD a pro μετὰ δὲ. εὐαγγ. τῆς βασιλείας  
 τοῦ θεοῦ AD al. pro εὐ. τ. θεοῦ; cf. Mt. 4, 23. 15, πεπλή-  
 ρωνται οἱ καιροὶ D ital. part., pro singul. 16, αὐτοῦ D it.  
 pler. vulg. pro τοῦ Σίμωνος (αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σ.). τὰ δίκτυα post  
 ἀμφιβάλλοντας add. D (*retia* lat., ἀμφίβληστρον sive -a [Mt.]  
 A al.). 18, ἀφέντες πάντα D a b c ff<sup>2</sup>, pro ἀφ. τὰ δίκτυα (αὐτῶν).  
 Recte D puto; nam τὰ δίκτυα e Mt. fluxit, neque com-  
 memoraverat retia Mc., si quidem spurium substantivum  
 v. 16. 20, ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ D it. vulg. (pro ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω  
 αὐτοῦ), e Mt., sive e v. 18. 21, εἰσεπορεύοντο (falso) D pro  
 praes. εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς D it.  
 vulg. pro ἐδίδ. εἰς τ. συν., sed ceteri quoque magnopere  
 variant. 22, οὐχ D it. part. pro καὶ οὐχ. 23, εὐθὺς recte  
 om. cum al. D (hab. NBL). αὐτῶν om. DL it. part.  
 24, οἶδα D al. (-αμεν NLD). 25, ὁ Ἰησ. om. Db g<sup>1</sup>. ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου D it. pler. vulg. pro ἐξ αὐτοῦ, e 5, 8, ut vid.;  
 indidem add. D it. part. πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον. 26 in D (e ff<sup>2</sup>)  
 est lectio male contaminata, verbo ἐξῆλθεν bis posito. 27,  
 ἐθάμβησαν D Orig. pro -ήθησαν. πρὸς αὐτοὺς DA al. pro  
 αὐτοὺς. In proximis omnes codd. corrupti esse vid. praeter  
 NBL et min. pauc. 28, πανταχοῦ om. D cum al. 29, ἐξ-  
 ελθὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς συναγ. ἦλθεν D, simil. it.; etiam B singul.;  
 plerique καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τ. σ. ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον. 30, D it. (exc. f)  
 vulg. κατέκειτο δὲ ἡ πενθερὰ Σίμωνος pro ἡ δὲ π. Σ. κ. 31, D  
 (b fg) ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα κρατήσας ἤγειρεν αὐτήν, pro ἡ γ. α. κρ.  
 τῆς χειρός. Ἐκτείνας τ. χ. est v. 41; hic minime aptum.  
 εὐθέως ante ἀφῆκεν add. D it. pler. vulg. (A al. add. post  
 πυρετός, bq ante ὁ πυρ.). 32, ἔδυσεν BD pro ἔδν. νόσοις  
 ποικίλαις add. D it. pler. (cf. infra Syr. Lew.) post κακῶς  
 ἔχοντας, v. Lc. et v. 34. 33, θύραν αὐτοῦ D it. quid. pro θύραν.  
 34 in D est manifestissima contaminatio, iuxta enim ex-  
 stant: καὶ ἰθεράπευσεν αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς δαιμόνια ἔχοντας ἐξέβαλεν

αὐτὰ ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἤφειεν αὐτὰ λαλεῖν, ὅτι ᾗδειςαν αὐτόν (a) et: καὶ ἔθερ. πολλοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ποικίλαις νόσοις, καὶ δαιμόνια πολλὰ ἐξέβαλεν (b). Est hic locus eiusmodi, in quo grammatici veteres notis criticis antisigmatis et duorum punctorum usuri fuerint, quibus apud Homerum aliosque utebantur, ὁπότε κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς δις εἴη τὸ αὐτὸ νόημα κείμενον. In ceteris autem libris hoc est quod vehementer offendat: primum dicitur (v. 32) *omnes* aegrotos (τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας) ad portam allatos esse; deinde (v. 34) *multos* aegrotos (κακῶς ἔχοντας) Iesum sanavisse. Cur non omnes? vel potius cur non dicitur v. 34 τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς (vel tale quid) sine πολλοὺς? Eadem fere de δαιμόνια πολλὰ v. 34 dici possunt. Itaque suspiceris, bis hanc quidem sententiam olim scriptam fuisse: (a) 32, ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης, ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας νόσοις ποικίλαις, καὶ τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους, 33 καὶ ἦν ὅλη . . . θύραν, 34 καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς δαιμόνια ἔχοντας ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὰ ἀπ' αὐτῶν (non indigna haec constructio Marco, cf. c. 2, 1 sec. N B D; Mt. 12, 15 D), καὶ οὐκ ἤφειεν κτέ. (b) 32 ὅτε δὲ ἔδυσεν) ὁ ἥλιος, ἦν ὅλη ἡ πόλις ἐπισυνηγμ. πρὸς τὴν θύραν, καὶ ἔθερ. πολλοὺς κακῶς ἔχ. ποικίλαις νόσοις, καὶ δαιμόνια πολλὰ ἐξέβαλεν, καὶ οὐκ ἤφειεν κτέ. Nempe etiam in 32 aegre feruntur iuxta posita ὁψίας δὲ γεν. (= Mt. 8, 16), ὅτε ἔδυσεν ὁ ἥλιος.<sup>1</sup> Sed pergamus. 34, pro αὐτὰ λαλεῖν (D it. vulg.) plerique λαλ. τὰ δαιμόνια, B τὰ δαιμ. λαλεῖν. 35, ἀναστὰς om. D a c. 36, τότε Σίμων i.e. ὁ τε Σ. D (ὁ τε Σ. K Π) pro ὁ Σ. 37, καὶ ὅτε εὗρον D (it. part., vulg.) pro καὶ εὗρον (. . . καὶ) vel καὶ εὐρόντες (sed b c pro καὶ εὗρ. αὐτὸν καὶ λέγουσιν nihil nisi λέγοντες). 38, ἀλλαχοῦ om. D al. ἐχομένης] ἐγγὺς D. κωμοπόλεις] κώμας καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις male D it. vulg. ἐξεληλυθα D al. pro ἐξῆλθον. 39, ἦν D al. pro ἦλθεν. 40, ἐρωτῶν D pro παρακαλῶν. καὶ γονυπετῶν (αὐτὸν) om. D cum B a b c

<sup>1</sup> Sec. Syr. Lew. locus ita fere legitur: ὅτε δὲ ἔδυσεν ὁ ἥλιος, ἔφερον πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας νόσοις ποικίλαις, (33) καὶ ἦν . . . θύραν αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ add. etiam

D c ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> q), καὶ ἔθερ. πολλοὺς, καὶ δαιμόνια πολλὰ κτέ. Itaque spurium vid. ὁψίας γενομ., ex Mt. scil. invec-tum.



ff<sup>3</sup> g<sup>1</sup>. αὐτῷ om. D it. pler., al. lat. ὅτι om. D it. part. vulg. 41, συναγχνισθεῖς] ὀργισθεῖς D aff<sup>3</sup>, om. b g<sup>1</sup>. αὐτοῦ et post χεῖρα et post ἤψατο D it. pler. vulg. 44, μηδὲν om. D it. vulg. c. **NA** al. δεῖξον σεαυτὸν D it. vulg. (σ. δ.). 45, πολλὰ om. D it. vulg. αὐτὸν om. D. φανερώς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς πόλιν D vulg. (al. εἰς π. φ. ε. vel φ. εἰς π. ε.) Tandem ex longo hoc capite emersimus; ulterius eadem ratione progredi nihil opus. Satis enim manifestum est, plerasque lectiones quas contulimus aut veras esse aut vulgaris alicuius generis corruptelas; neque vero genere corruptelae D a ceteris differre, sed eo tantum, quod paullo plus corruptum in D quam in **NA**. Nos autem diversae cuiusdam recensitionis vestigia indagamus, quae non invenimus nisi fortasse uno loco. Sequitur igitur ut quaeramus, num plures sint tales loci apud Marcum; μία γὰρ χελιδὼν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ. Est autem exigua messis. C. 2, 27 D aceff<sup>3</sup> i λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν κύριός ἐστιν κτέ. (v. 28), omissa sententia v. 27: τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον. Est haec sententia Marci propria, altera autem (κύριος κτέ.) trium euangelistarum communis. Videndum igitur num haec Mc. scripserit: λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν (nempe καὶ ἔλ. αὐτοῖς et ipsum ap. Lc. est, 6, 5). τὸ σάββατον κτέ., omisso v. 28, qui ex Mt. Lucaque adscriptus alterum dictum sede sua in D expulerit. Sed nihil affirmo. 4, 9, add. D ital. part. syr. post. mg. καὶ ὁ συνίων συνιέτω. Nusquam ea sententia praeterea exstat. 24 sq. om. D G lat. quid. καὶ προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν (post μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν), tum v. 25 D προστεθήσεται pro δοθήσεται, quod est ap. Mt. 13, 12. 25, 29 (δοθ. καὶ περισσευθήσεται) et Lc. 8, 18. 19, 26 (δοθήσ. tantum). Tota sententia v. 24 ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν (Mt. 7, 2, Lc. 6, 38) huic loco minime apta est, et in min. 13, 69 post v. 25 demum legitur. Estne interpolata e Mt.? 5, 33 D aff<sup>3</sup> i post φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τρέμουσα add. δι' ὃ πεποιθήκει λάθρα; tum εἰδυῖα ὃ γέγονεν αὐτῇ ut al.; sed haec εἰδ. ὃ γέγ. α. ἦλθεν καὶ in b (e) q omittuntur. Prius satis recte adici-

tur: ob facinus suum timet; multo minus alterum, nam potestne timere quia sanata est? Facillime cum b al. utroque additamento careas; ἦλθεν καὶ est ap. Lc. (8, 47). (6, 50, γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶδον om. D it. part., recte puto.) 8, 26 D it. part. add. ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου (quamvis praecedant καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ), = Mt. 9, 6. Mc. 2, 11. In proximis pessime edunt ex  $\aleph$  B L μὴ (c. μηδὲ) εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθης, cum verbum utique εἴπης esse debeat. Qui enim in ea κώμῃ (Bethsaida, 22) habitat (quod utique putandum), cum domum dimittatur, quomodo potest vetari vicum ingredi? Itaque multo rectius D μηδενὶ εἴπης εἰς τὴν κώμην, quamquam etiam huic lectioni praestat μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἴπης. 9, 35, καὶ λέγει . . . διάκονος om. D k. Casu fort., cum sequatur καὶ λαβῶν. 38, non possunt iuxta ferri ὅς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν (A D al.; om.  $\aleph$  B Syr. Lew. al.) et ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει ἡμῖν ( $\aleph$  B al.; om. D X it. [exc. f] vulg.); sunt autem utraque in A al. (Tschd.). Sed D potius mihi sequendus vid. quam  $\aleph$  B, qui Lucae nimis similem locum reddunt. 49, πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται om. D it. part.; hab. ἡ πᾶσα γὰρ θυσία ἀλλ' ἀλισθήσεται, quae verba (καὶ πᾶσα θυσ.) etiam in A C al. recepta (om.  $\aleph$  B L Δ Syr. Lew.). Quam facile aliquid hic exciderit, quivis videt; sed quidquid est rei, de duabus recensitionibus certe non est cogitandum. 10, 12 D it. part. καὶ ἐὰν γυνὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ, pro καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴ ἀπολύσασα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς (vel ἀπολύσῃ . . . καὶ). Melius illud, non enim ἀπολύει maritum uxor, sed ἀπολείπει; itaque saltem ἀπολείψασα scribendum sit.<sup>1</sup> 24 sqq. D (a b ff<sup>2</sup>) τάχιον κάμηλος διὰ τρυμαλίδος (corrige -ιάς) ραφίδος διελεύσεται, ἢ πλούσιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (cf. 25 in cet. codd.). οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐθαμβοῦντο κτῆ. (v. 24). οἱ δὲ περισσῶς κτῆ. (v. 26). De hoc loco cum multa dici possint,

<sup>1</sup> In Syr. Lew. totus locus aliter conformatus est: (11) ἐὰν γυνὴ ἀφῇ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς καὶ γαμήθῃ ἄλλῳ, μοιχᾶται, (12) καὶ ἐὰν ἄνθρωπος ἀφῇ τὴν

γυναῖκα καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλον, μοιχᾶται. Id est: sicut mulier . . . omnium consensu adultera est (cf. Rom. 7, 3), ita etiam vir, qui etc.

dicam quantum huic occasioni satis sit. Rectius ap. Mc. scribetur *τάχιον κτέ.* cum D, confirmante Clemente Alexandrino (pp. 936, 938, 950, *θᾶττον* ultimo loco, aliis *ῥᾶον* et *εὐκολώτερον*), quam cum reliquis *εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κτέ.*, quae commutata sunt sec. Mt. In v. 24 verba *τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ (τοῖς) χρήμασιν* cum *Ⲛ B Δ* omittenda (etsi sunt ap. Clem. quoque), ut magis etiam generalis sententia fiat; sed si haec spuria, ordo rectior is erit qui est in D; ita enim Iesus de divitibus primum dicet, tum de omnibus, ad haec autem recte discipuli subiungent *καὶ τίς δύναται σωθῆναι*, sicut antea post sententiam de camelo recte dicentur *θαμβεῖσθαι*. Propter similia verba recurrentia antiquitus omissio facta, tum (quod fit) ordo turbatus esse videtur. 30, item est locus difficillimus; crediderim autem interpolata esse verba *ὅς δὲ ἀφῆκεν*, quae in D a b ff<sup>1</sup> post *καιρῷ τούτῳ* adduntur; debebat enim esse in proximis, si vera essent illa, non *καὶ* sed *ἦ*. 32, D K a b verba *καὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο* tantum habent, omissis proximis *οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο*. Esse videtur contaminatio in optimis, cum antiquitus fuerit *οἱ δὲ ἀκ. ἐφοβοῦντο* adscripto *ἐθαμβοῦντο* (vel contra); inde natum *καὶ ἐθαμβ.*, quibus in D expulsa sunt *οἱ δὲ . . . ἐφοβοῦντο*. Aperte enim *ἀκολουθοῦντες* opponitur *τῷ προάγων*; ferri igitur nequit interiectum de eisdem *καὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο*. 11, 26, *εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς κτέ.* om. *Ⲛ B Syr. Lew. al.*; aut omissio fortuita est propter *ὁμοιοτέλετον* aut interpolatio (e Mt.). 13, 2 add. D it. pler. Cypr.: *καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλος ἀναστήσεται (ἐγερθήσ., vel ἐγερῶ αὐτὸν sec. lat. quosd.) ἄνευ χειρῶν*. Interpolata dicunt e 14, 58. Io. 2, 19; ego nihil affirmo, sed certe ex alia recensione non sunt. 14, 3, *νάρδον πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς* om. D, casu puto, cum etiam d ea verba praebeat, et si offensioni est mirus in his cum Iohanne (12, 3) consensus, sit aliquid vel apud hunc vel apud Mc. interpolatum, sed testimonium codicis D in eam causam ne adhibeamus. 4, pro *ἦσαν δὲ τινες ἀγανακτοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτούς* D a ff<sup>1</sup> i *οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ διεπονοῦντο* (*inter se* add.

a). Ap. Mt. (26, 8) est *ιδόντες δὲ οἱ μαθ. ἡγανάκησαν; διαπονεῖσθαι* nonnisi in Actis. 25, pro *οὐκέτι* (hoc om. *℣* al.) *οὐ μὴ πῶ* D a f *οὐ μὴ προσθῶ πῆν*, quod omnes numeros veritatis habet; *οὐ μὴ πῶ* est ap. Mt. Lc. 39, *τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπὼν* om. D a c ff<sup>3</sup> k; possunt haec sec. Mt. esse adscripta. 41, *ἀπέχει τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ ὥρα* D (cf. it. syr.); admixta ut vid. interpretatione vocis *ἀπέχει*; sincera enim ceterorum lectio. 47, *τῶν παρεστηκότων* om. D a, recte fort. 72 D *τὸ ῥῆμα δ εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς* (corrupte *ἱην*), tum om. (cum 142\* a) verba ipsa Iesu, quae omissio probanda videtur; suppletum est e Mt. Lc. Pro *ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλειεν* D it. vulg. al. *καὶ ἤρξατο κλαίειν*, quae est explicatio. 15, 15, *βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὸ ἱκανὸν τῷ ὄχλῳ* om. D ff<sup>3</sup> k; item 19 *καὶ τιθέντες τὰ γόνατα προσεκύουν αὐτῷ* om. D k (propter *ὁμοιοτέλ.*); item 24 om. *τίς τίς ἄρῃ* D ff<sup>3</sup> k n (om. Matth.). Nihil his testimoniis tribuerim; in v. 15 cetera quoque in D ad Matthaei similitudinem mutata, qui illa *βουλόμενος κτε.* omittit. v. 27 (om. etiam D) recte proscripserunt. 34, pro *ἐγκατέλιπες* D (c i, sed non d) *ὠνείδισας*. 16, 1 D n q (cf. k) *καὶ πορευθεῖσαι ἡγόρασαν κτε.*, pro *καὶ διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου Μαρία ἡ Μαγδ. καὶ Μαρία Ἰακ. καὶ Σαλώμη ἡγόρασαν*. Multo praestat lectio D; primum enim inepte in vulgari lect. nomina iterum exhibentur post 15, 47, neque plane eadem; tum minus apte mulieres exacto demum sabbato (i.e. post occasum solis) haec coëmunt, quae et potuerant die Veneris emere et dicuntur eo die emisse apud Lucam: Tam prope autem haec absunt ab eis quae omnium consensu spuria sunt, ut nihil miri sit esse hic quaedam aliunde interpolata. 3 sq. *ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα* D c ff<sup>3</sup> π syr. Hieros. Euseb. post *μνημεῖον* v. 3 inserunt, ubi tam apta sunt quam inepta in v. 4; tum pergunt eid. *καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ εὐρίσκουσιν ἀποκεκυλισμένον τὸν λίθον (αὐτὸν ἀποκ.* Euseb.). Haec quoque differentia indidem repeti potest unde illa quae est in v. 1, neque profecto cogimur ut duplicem recensionem statuamus a Marco oriundam. Sed

omnino apparet non esse cur quisquam talia de hoc libro opinetur. Summi pretii est codex D ad manum Marci recuperandam; insigni fide quaedam vel servavit vel non admisit, cum aliis locis eandem fidem alii codices praestiterint; sed ipsa duplicis alicuius recensiois vestigia, quae 1, 32 sqq. nobis detegere visi sumus, etsi clarius apparent in D, apparent tamen in ceteris quoque, neque omnino genere atque indole D a ceteris diversus est, sicut est certe in Actis. Itaque adversario sic affirmandum fuit: eandem esse, quod ad D attineat, euangeliorum atque Actorum condicionem, *exceptis tamen Matthaeo Iohanne Marco.*

Id autem est: eandem esse in utroque libro Lucae, cui affirmationi non est cur a principio obsistendum esse putare possim; nihilo enim magis contra me quam pro me est. Exposui inde videri diversitatem omnem repetendam, quod in Theophili usum Lucas librum suum iterum scripserit: quod si in Actis fecit, etiam in euangelio fecisse putandus est, sique in hoc fecit, potuit propagari et hoc exemplum et antiquius, unde diversae duae recensiones nasci potuerunt. Sed non est necesse ut utrumque exemplum propagatum sit; itaque si una exstat euangelii recensio, ne id quidem est contra me. Etsi igitur contentus esse poteram eis quae adhuc demonstrata sunt, nolim tamen propter ignaviam defugere videri laborem Lucani quoque euangelii examinandi. Verum ne in ingens is labor crescat, haec faciamus. Primum segregemus omnia quae e ceteris euangeliiis interpolata vel sunt vel possunt esse videri: velut quod genealogia Christi c. 3, 23 sqq. in uno D secundum Matthaeum mutata est. Exstat autem magna vis apud Lucam quoque huiusmodi corruptelae, atque inde repeti potest, quod duo prima capita, deficiente scilicet hac corrumpendi causa, in universum nihil magnopere in D a reliquorum traditione differunt. Tum, cum in paucis quibusdam tamen differant

haec quoque, et ea quae in his primis capitibus sunt examinabimus et quae in ultimis, inde a vigesimo altero; nam in his ultimis iam alii ante me duplicis recensiois vel duarum editionum vestigia cognoscere posse sibi visi sunt.

Itaque in c. 1, v. 63 sq. haec est lectio vulgaris: *καὶ αἰτήσας πινακίδιον ἔγραψεν λέγων· Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐθαύμασαν πάντες. ἀνεψύχθη δὲ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλάλει εὐλογῶν τὸν θεόν.* D om. λέγων cum e, tum post ὃν. αὐτοῦ habet (cum a b g'): *καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐλύθη ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐθαύμασαν πάντες· ἀνεψύχθη δὲ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλάλει κτέ.* Similiter ff<sup>1</sup>, nisi quod *καὶ ἐθαύμ.* π. eodem loco exstat quo in N B etc.; inde *καὶ ἀνεψύχθη.* Duo testes (g Scriv. et l) om. *παραχρῆμα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ*, videlicet propter *ὁμοιοτέλετον*; minusc. duo pro *καὶ ἡ γλ.* αὐτοῦ hab. *καὶ ἐλύθη ὁ δεσμός τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ*, cf. Mc. 7, 35; alii duo post γλ. a. add. *διηρθρώθη*, quae est interpolatio. Verum estne boni scriptoris dicere *ἀνεψύχθη ἡ γλῶσσα*? Tum *ἔγραψεν λέγων* cum sit, '*scripsit haec verba*' (sicut in VT. et ap. Iosephum): cur '*mirantur omnes*'? Sec. D autem mirantur quod loquendi facultatem pater recuperavit, recte sane, nisi quod etiam in hac lectione male habet quod postmodo demum dicitur *ἀνεψύχθη τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ*, quasi mirari homines quidquam potuerint antequam aperto ore loqui coeperit. Sed opem fert Syr. Lew., qui *ἐθαύμ. πάντες* extremo loco habet, om. autem *ἀνεψύχθη τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ*; scribas igitur cum D Syr. *Ιω. . . αὐτοῦ καὶ παραχρ. ἐλύθη ἡ γλ. αὐτοῦ (ὁ δεσμός τῆς γλ. a. etiam Syr.),* tum cum Syr. et graecis plerisque *καὶ ἐλάλει εὐλογῶν (καὶ εὐλόγει Syr.; καὶ ἐλάλει et ipsum e Mc. 7, 35 sumptum esse potest) τὸν θεόν*; denique cum Syr. *καὶ ἐθαύμ. πάντες, (65) καὶ ἐγένετο κτέ.* Duplex autem recensio hoc loco agnosci posse non videtur. Neque magis eo pertinet, quod in v. 66 *ἦν* sane bene om. D l q Syr. Lew., vel quod v. 67 pro *ἐπροφήτευσεν λέγων* D habet *ἔλεπεν* (neglegentiae id



esse potest); itaque primi capitis non exstat duplex recensio. At c. 2, 42 D habet: καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἔτη (ita et. Lablq) δώδεκα, ἀνέβησαν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν κατὰ κτέ. (item e), pro . . . ἐγένετο ἐτῶν . . . ἀναβαινόντων αὐτῶν κατὰ κτέ. Fateor hoc esse simile multorum, quae in Actis ad recensionem β rettuli, sed id ideo, quia mihi de ea recensione ex aliis locis constabat; ex talibus certe constare non potuit. Accedit quod ἔχοντες αὐτόν pro 'cum eo' graecum quidem est, sed alienum a N. T. Missa igitur faciamus prima capita, ad ultima accedamus. Primi versus c. 22 habent quod discrepet in D, sed nihil insigne; in v. 7 D it. part. τοῦ πάσχα pro τῶν ἀζύμων, male si maneant reliqua, optime si cum a haec ἐν ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα omittantur, erit enim ἡ ἡμ. τοῦ πάσχα dies eius sacrificii, = ἡ πρώτη ἡμ. τῶν ἀζύμων, ὅτε τὸ π. ἔθυσον (Mc. 14, 12). Vulgaris autem lectio ἡμ. τῶν ἀζύμων utique πρώτη desiderat, quod est ap. Mt. et Mc. V. 15 D solus καινὸν βρωθῆ pro πληρωθῆ; gravissimum autem quod inde a 19 τὸ ὑπὲρ ὕμῶν usque ad 20 extr. in D a ff<sup>2</sup> i l omnia omittuntur. Sed fortasse non nobis gravissimum; ipsi enim W.-H. in reliquos codd. h. l. interpolationem admissam esse statuunt. V. 24 D (fq, syr. Cur. et Sch. et Lew.) ἀν εἶη (pro αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι), valde ex Lucae more loquendi et fort. recte. Mittamus hoc; it. μικρότερος pro νεώτερος 26; it. similia deinceps omnia, quae nihil ad rem nostram faciunt. Sed in 27 est additamentum in D latinisque valde conspicuum. Nempe pro οὐχὶ ὁ ἀνακείμενος hab. a ceff<sup>2</sup> al.: *in gentibus quidem qui recumbit, in vobis autem non sic, sed qui ministrat.* In D longe aliter: pergit is post καὶ ὁ ἡγούμενος ὡς ὁ διάκονος (26) addens μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ἀνακείμενος, tum ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ ὕμῶν ἦλθον οὐχ ὡς ὁ ἀνακείμενος ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ διακονῶν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἠυξήθητε ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ μου. Haec autem neque profecto reprehendi possunt et ex parte confirmantur ab Origine (v. Tschd.). Sed ne vulgaris quidem lectio reprehendi potest. Habemus igitur huius quidem loci duplicem

recensionem. An etiam triplicem? nam quid faciemus eis quae in a al. exstant? an hanc quidem explicationem dicemus? Nihil autem nos movere debet, quod post allata verba corrupte pergit D ὡς ὁ διακονῶν (= 27 a extr.) οἱ διαμεμενηκότες κτέ., omissis ὑμεῖς δέ ἐστε; nempe etiam in Actis frequentes sunt tales corruptelae, ex contaminatione maxime ortae. V. 42 sec. D a c e ff<sup>3</sup> habet inversum ordinem sententiarum; 43 sq. notum est abesse a parte testium, referrique a W.-H. ad interpolationem antiquam. Quidni ad alteram recensionem? Nihil enim habent quod Luca indignum sit. Quidni igitur etiam haec quae sunt in D (a ff<sup>1</sup> l) v. 51: καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ? Cf. 6, 10, καὶ ἀπεκατ. ἡ χεῖρ αὐτοῦ. In 53 autem est egregia lectio D codicis, quae nescio an recipienda sit: ἀλλ' αὕτη ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ἐξουσία, τὸ σκότος; nempe τοῦ σκότους e Col. 1, 13, importune invectum videtur. Transeo reliqua huius capitis et prima proximi (in quibus sunt quae addant Marcion et latini quidam, apocryphorum speciem referentia); sed 23, 12 D c sic habent: ὄντες δὲ ἐν ἀηδία ὁ Πιλ. καὶ ὁ Ἡρ. ἐγένοντο φίλοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, pro ἐγένοντο δὲ φίλοι δ τε Ἡρ. καὶ ὁ Π. ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμ. μετ' ἀλλήλων· προὔπῃρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες πρὸς ἑαυτούς. Quod non exstat in N. T. ἀηδία, non facit contra Lucam auctorem, qui est utique rariorum verborum amator; et cur tandem hunc versum aliquis homo, nisi ipse auctor fuit, sic refinxit? Sed rursus v. 17, quem D et syr. Cur. Lew. post 19 demum inferunt, cum omittant A B al., potest interpolatus esse ex reliquis euangeliiis. Itaque (nam nihil necesse est ulterius progredi) valuerunt profecto in Luca eadem corruptionis causae quae in reliquis euangeliiis, sed praeter eas accessit alia diversitatis causa valde efficax, quam vix possis non ab auctore ipso repetere, qui bis sua scripserit. Nam et saepe inveniuntur tales loci et valde inter se lectiones discedunt; itaque cum in Marco dixerimus μία χελιδὼν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ, in Luca idem dicere non



possumus, fitque e multorum singulorum locorum recensione duplici duplex recensio capitum et partium, denique totius libri. Sunt autem quae confidenter ad hanc causam referre possis, sunt de quibus dubites, sunt etiam quae confidenter alii causae tribuas. Quod autem in primis duobus capitibus haec ultima diversitatis causa nondum valuit, sic quoque explicari poterit, ut dicas ab altera libri recensione sive editione duo prima capita omnino afuisse. Etenim a tertio statim capite incipiunt quae alterius recensionis fuisse videntur (16 ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν εἶπεν; cf. 5, 22), et δὲ c. 3, 1 in *N*<sup>ca</sup> aliis omittitur, ut haec quae sequuntur ad prooemium libri 1, 4, apte adnectantur. Neque vero satis credibile est, ultorum tantum capitum duas recensiones fuisse, multaque ex intermediis capitibus congeri possunt, quae hoc refellere videantur, velut 12, 1 D (ital. part.) πολλῶν δὲ ὁχλῶν συμπεριεχόντων κύκλῳ, tum ibid. D ὥστε ἀλλήλους συμπνίγειν. Sed ad reliqua adversarii argumenta nunc pergendum, postquam gravissimum satis, ut opinor, refutavimus.

Dicit enim vir doctissimus, additamenta codicis D partim conglutinata esse e fragminibus aliunde ex Actorum libro collectis. Ita quae Act. 11, 2, de Petro leguntur, ex eis esse composita, quae alibi de Paulo Lucas narret. Ipse igitur confitetur, non unum aliquem locum interpolatorem transtulisse, id quod sane facile erat, sed laboriose dicit eum complures contexuisse, quam molestiam cur sibi iniunxerit aegre perspicitur. Sed ne vere quidem hoc dicit. Διὰ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου ἠθέλησεν πορευθῆναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα Petrus; Paulus autem (24, 17) δι' ἐτῶν πλείονων ἐλειμοσύνας ποιήσων παρεγένετο. Προσφωνήσας τοὺς ἀδελφούς de Petro; de Paulo προσφωνεῖν est 21, 40; 22, 2, sed alio sensu. Ἐπιστηρίζας αὐτοὺς πολλὸν λόγον ποιούμενος; de Paulo similia sunt 13, 45, verum in β, nisi quod etiam secundum α saepius ille ἐπιστηρίζει. Tum διὰ τῶν χωρῶν proficiscitur Petrus; ubi Paulus? Immo quae addit β eatenus cum

reliquo libro congruunt, ut facile eundem auctorem agnoscere possis, sed non tam ad verbum cum aliis locis, ut interpolator agnoscendus sit, suntque etiam in additamenti quaedam ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, quae ni essent, mos Lucae consuetus fortasse parum servaretur. Ita in euangelio quoque eis locis quos supra exscripsi: συμπεριέχειν 12, 1 (cum συμπνίγειν quod ibidem est similiter exstet c. 8, 42: οἱ ὄχλοι συνέπνιγον αὐτόν), ἀηδία 23, 12; etiam νόημα 3, 16, non est nisi apud Paulum. Eiusdem scilicet est νόημα Paulinum semel adhibere et φρονεῖν Paulinum semel Act. 28, 22, eiusdemque συμπεριέχειν, συναναστρέφεισθαι Act. 10, 41 β, συνεκπορεύεσθαι A. 3, 11 β, συγκατανεύειν A. 18, 27 β, et συγκαταβαίνειν, συγκατατίθεσθαι, συγκαταψήφίζειν, συμπεριλαμβάνειν, συναφίστασθαι, quae nusquam sunt in N. T. praeter Lucam.

Sed etiam omnino male haec additamenta adversarius scripta esse dicit, indigneque plane hoc auctore. Exemplis utitur 11, 2 et 13, 27, id est locis qui in D aperte corrupti exhibentur. Sed si ea quae 13, 27 sec. a leguntur bene scripta esse putat, nescio quid sit ex eius sententia bene scribere; aut si minus bene scripta, sed tamen non indigna Luca, desinat lectiones β reprehendere. Ego cum haec hoc scriptore digna non putarem, coniectura locum temptavi; alios autem multos fere intemptatos reliqui, quamvis minime iudicarem bene scriptos esse. Pertinet ad id genus oratio Tertulli 24, 5 sqq., pars orationis Pauli c. 13, 17 sqq., ubi intolerabilem in modum adnexa per καὶ particulam continuantur; tum foede structa illa 22, 17, ἐγένετό μοι ὑποστρέψαντι . . . [καὶ] προσευχομένου μου . . ., γένεσθαι με . . ., alia plurima. Adversarius autem tam misellum hunc scriptorem putat, ut ne ea quidem ab eo abiudicare confiderenter audeat, quibus omnis sensus loci pervertitur, dummodo legantur non in D sed in Vaticano. Reprehendit quidem Bernardum Weiss, quod nimis confiderenter reiecerit

Ἑλληνοστᾶς 11, 20 (v. p. 302) quamvis et ipse non possit non videre, sententia Ἑλληνας flagitari.

Omnium vero iniquissimum est, quod a me postulat ut omnia, quae codicis D propria sunt, ab eadem hac origine repetam indeque explicem. Solent codicis cuiusvis lectiones partim falsae esse partim verae, neque fieri potest, ut utraeque eandem originem habeant. Tum verae ipsae aut solae verae sunt, aut non minus verae eis, quae ex altera aliqua recensione profectae sunt. Falsarum autem originem variam multiplicemque esse solere quis tandem nescit? Sit difficile ubique originem invenire, fac ut ipse interdum erraverim, cum alteri recensionis aliquam lectionem tribuerim quae deberetur interpolationi alienae; sed summa rei talibus erroribus, quamvis multi sint, minime mutabitur.

Denique quod suspicionem moveri dicit varietate illa, quae inter ipsos testes recensionis  $\beta$  esse soleat: evanescet eius varietatis longe maior pars, si causam Laudiani E a reliquorum separaverimus. Est autem profecto separanda. Nempe D et Floriacensis a patribus multis ecclesiae Latinae sustentur, E contra a nemine praeter Bedam, qui ipso E usus esse videtur, et iudicavit iam Wetstenius ille (II. 451), graeca codicis E e latinis esse translata, inde explicari diversitatem quae inter D et E intercedat. Nam quod Wetstenius idem hoc iudicium etiam ad D extendit, nihil me movet; etenim ad diversitatem explicandam plane sufficit, si alteruter ex his codicibus e latino additamentorum  $\beta$  archetypo pendere iudicetur. Ceteri autem testes recensionis  $\beta$  ita fere inter se et consentiunt et dissentiunt, ut expectandum erat in lectionibus quae et cum altera recensione perpetuo contaminarentur et in marginibus librorum circumferrentur ideoque minore cum cura propagarentur. Hanc enim ipsam ob causam ea quoque, quae explicandi causa passim euangeliiis adscripta sunt, formam saepe aliam apud alios testes referunt.

Itaque stat adhuc inconcussa sententia Iohannis Clerici —is enim primus eius auctor esse videtur—exstare Actorum libri duplicem recensionem ab ipso Luca profectam. Neque mediocrem in modum ea sententia confirmata est, si quidem apparuit extra Lucae scripta nihil simile Cantabrigiensem codicem exhibere.

D. Halis Sax.

FRIDERICUS BLASS.

BLAYDES'S ADVERSARIA IN TRAGICORUM  
GRAECORUM FRAGMENTA.<sup>1</sup>

THE veteran editor of Sophocles and Aristophanes, after completing his monumental edition of the latter poet, an edition which owes to Halle its beautiful typography and sumptuous appearance, has, as his next contribution to Greek literature, collected such *adversaria* on the fragments of the Greek Tragedians as had naturally accumulated in the course of a long life devoted to the study of Greek poetry. Dr. Blaydes had already published a similar, though somewhat smaller, volume on the Greek Comic Fragments, alternately taking as his basis the editions of Meineke and Kock. In the present volume he has based his *earlier* remarks<sup>2</sup> on the 5th edition of Dindorf (1869) and the 1st of Nauck (1856); but this portion was written, and for the most part printed, before its author came to the knowledge of Nauck's *second* edition (1889): hence Dr. Blaydes determined to add an appendix, incorporating with the vast new materials accumulated by Nauck those of scholars who, like Gomperz, have written on the Fragments since. This appendix covers no less than 181 additional pages. The volume ends with two tables—(1) in which the numbers of Nauck's 1st and 2nd editions are drawn out opposite to each other; (2) in which the numbers of Dindorf's 5th edition are similarly pre-

<sup>1</sup> Halis Saxonum (Halle), 1894.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the first half of the volume, pp. 3-248.

sented opposite to those of Nauck<sup>1</sup>. The advantage of these two tables is not small; any reader of fragments so numerous as those of the Greek Tragici and Comici must know how much time is lost in hunting for the same fragment in the differing numerations of separate editions.

To English students of Greek these two volumes (on the Tragic and Comic Fragments) will have a *national* interest, for they embody many suggestions of our own scholars, either unknown or neglected hitherto. I will mention some names of acknowledged distinction—Badham, the late H. A. J. Munro, J. P. Mahaffy, Lewis Campbell, R. C. Jebb, Professor Margoliouth, Arthur Palmer.

One of the strongest points in Dr. Blaydes's latest volume is, as might be expected from his former works, the great accumulation of parallel citations in illustration, or explanation of, the meanings of passages and words. Such are the large illustrations of ἀπρίξ, p. 46, which show that this peculiar word was used by Plato, Sophron, Theocritus, Lucian, and Alciphron; of αὐτὸ δείξει τοῦργον, p. 48; of the strange name Φαμενός, supported by Ἀκεσαμενός, Κλαυσαμενός, Δεξαμενός, Τισαμενός, ib.; of ἀσπιδίτης by χωρίτης ἀστίτης ὀπλίτης, ib.; of παρὰ στάθμην, p. 52; of θῶπα λόγον, p. 156; of ὁμόθεν ὦσι, p. 159; but, indeed, of most of the more remarkable combinations of words which occur in the Tragic Fragments. The value of this kind of illustration is at once perceptible, if we consider how often the successive writers of plays imitated each other. A familiar and not unamusing instance may be found in Aesch. fr. 180, Soph. fr. 140 (κάκοσμος οὐράνη). On this throwing about of *matellae* Dr. Blaydes quotes two illustrations, one from Athenæus, the other from Demosthenes. Others probably may be found; one at least will occur to every memory. On Eurip., fr. 17, οὐκ ἔστι Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν ἄλλο πλὴν λόγος, is cited Herod. viii. 111; then Hel. 1002, which seems to support ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει against φρενὶ (Kock), φρεσὶ (Blaydes); then a very

fine passage from Demosth. 780, καὶ δίκης γε καὶ εὐνομίας καὶ αἰδοῦς εἰσι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις βωμοὶ, οἱ μὲν κάλλιστοι καὶ ἀγιώτατοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκάστου καὶ τῇ φύσει, οἱ δὲ καὶ κοινῇ τοῖς πᾶσι τιμᾶν ἰδρυμένοι. Eurip., fr. 571 (569 Nauck<sup>2</sup>) is a regular trial ground for emenders—

τὰς βροτῶν  
γνωμὰς σκοπῶν ὥστε Μαγνήτις λίθος  
τὴν δόξαν ἔλκει καὶ μεθίστησιν πάλιν.

The simplest conjecture is probably Meineke's ὥσειτε, which, by the way, is omitted both by Nauck and Blaydes. Most of the critics attack the word σκοπῶν, for which Buttmann proposed κλοπεύων, Hartung and Kock ἐπισπῶν, Nauck παλεύων or ἐπωπῶν, Blaydes ἐλέγχων, or possibly γνώμας σκοπεῖ τε χῶστε M. λίθος, and in his second part διώκων or διαθρῶν. Here neither Nauck nor Blaydes is complete without the other. But here again much of the value of Dr. Blaydes's remarks lies in the parallels which he has quoted from various authors on the magnet.

Eurip., fr. 582 (578 N<sup>2</sup>) still leaves unexplained the strange γραμμάτων. Palamedes says he had discovered letters, by which, if one was in foreign parts, he might learn how things were going on at home; then—

παισὶν τ' ἀποθησκοῦντα γραμμάτων μέτρον  
γράφαντας εἰπεῖν.

Scaliger conj. χρημάτων . . . γράψαντα λείπειν. It might be suggested that γράψαντας is γράψαντά σ', and that παμάτων, 'possessions,' has been ousted by its rarity, 'and that when you are dying you should write and tell your children the amount of their possessions.' Dr. Blaydes is here disappointingly silent.

Eurip. 591 (594 N<sup>1</sup>)—

ἐμῇ γὰρ ἦλθε μητρὶ κεδνῇ πρὸς λέχος  
Ζεύς.

Dobree, Conington, Nauck successively emended this κειδὸν εἰς λέχος. Blaydes, with much greater probability, suggests κοινὸν εἰς λέχος. Blaydes seems also to be the first who has called in question the word πτερύγων, in fr. 597 (594 N<sup>3</sup>) δίδυμοι τ' ἄρκτοι ταῖς ὠκυπλάνοις πτερύγων ῥίπαῖς, suggesting οὐρῶν or ὕσσων. That Euripides should have ascribed wings to the great and little Bears is impossible. I would suggest πτερνῶν, 'heels,' on which the Bears seem to revolve.

Eurip., fr. 627 (629 N<sup>1</sup>)—

εἰσὶν γὰρ εἰσὶ διφθέραι μελεγγραφεῖς (μελαγγραφεῖς Bergk.)  
πολλῶν γέμουσαι Λοξίου γηρυμάτων.

This passage is well illustrated from fr. Adesp. 369 and Herod. v. 58.

Eurip., fr. 636 (637 N<sup>1</sup>)—

ὁρῶ τὸν ἀκταῖς νομάδα κυματοφθόρον  
ἀλιάετον.

Valckmaer's ὁρῶ γ' ἐπ' is less probable than Blaydes's ὁρῶ πρὸς, and the latter scholar's correction κυματόφθορον, 'wandering over the waves,' is so fully supported by parallels from each of the three tragedians as to amount to certainty.

Eurip., fr. 728 (Nauck<sup>1</sup> \*)—

φιλεῖ τοι πόλεμος οὐ πάντ' εὐτυχεῖν,  
ἔσθλων δὲ χαίρει πτώμασιν νεανιῶν.

Conington's πάντων τυχεῖν is plausible, and accepted as right by Nauck in both editions. It certainly agrees with the similar passages quoted by Blaydes, p. 340, especially the last, Soph., fr. 657. 4, Ἄρης γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν λωτίζεσθαι. I cannot, however, think it certain, though not much is gained by πάντας λαχεῖν or κτανεῖν. May not the reading



of MSS. be right?—'War, even where prosperous, has its misfortunes: it is apt to kill off the best young men.'

Is it perversity, or some malignant chance, that a conjecture which I believe to be right, and which I published in the *Journal of Philology* twenty years ago, is not recorded either by Nauck or Blaydes? It is in Eur., fr. 740 (N<sup>1</sup>. 2)—

κατ' ἐναυλ' ὀρέων ἀβάτους ἐπὶ τε  
λειμῶνας ποιμένα τ' ἄλση.

For ἐπὶ τε Nauck conj. ἐπιὼν or ἐφέπων, Hense ἐπιβάς, Wecklein ἐρίπνας, Blaydes ἀβάτους τε πάρος. I thought, and think still, that it is τ' εἴ πρ, constructed like εἴ ποθι in Aj. 886, τίς . . . τὸν ὠμόθυμον | εἴ ποθι πλαζόμενον λείψων | ἀπύοι: Philoct. 1204, ξίφος εἴ ποθεν | ἥ γένυν ἥ βελέων τι προπέμψατε. Poetically, the vagueness thus introduced—'the untrodden meadows, where'er they might be,' is pleasing; and palæographically it is the kind of corruption of which many examples might be found. In the following verse I would offer with hesitation ποιμένι' ἄλση. At any rate ποίμνια has not yet been shown to be used adjectivally, and Meineke's ἀποιμνιά τ' is far-fetched and unsupported.

Eur., fr. 773 (776 N<sup>3</sup>)—

ἄρ' ὄλβος αὐτοῖς ὅτι τυφλὸς συνηρεεῖ  
τυφλὰς ἔχουσι τὰς φρένας †καὶ τῆς τύχης;

καὶ δυστυχεῖς Halm, κοῦκ εὐστόχους H. A. J. Munro, καὶ τῶμματ' or καὶ τὰς κόρας Blaydes. I believe the poet wrote κοινῇ τύχῃ.

In the five fragments of the Phaethon Blaydes has much to offer. 775 (773 N<sup>3</sup>) 2, on αἶται τί χρῆζεις he again raises the question whether αἶται εἴ τι χρῆζεις may not be the original, as in Soph. Electr. 316, ἰστόρει τί σοι φίλον seems to represent ἰστόρμι εἴ τί σοι φ. His note there deserves a mention, but it hardly settles the question. In 36 he antici-

pates Nauck's 2nd ed. in writing πελάζει, not πελάσσει, for πελασει of the MS.; in 42, where the MS. gives αιουσι, he suggests αἵρουσι: this too is anticipation of Nauck<sup>2</sup>; Nauck<sup>1</sup> gives αὔξουσ'. But it is hard to believe, spite of both Blaydes and Nauck<sup>2</sup>, that τηδεστωλεως of the MS. in 69 can be a corruption (as Cobet thought) of σῖγ' ἔστω λείως: Nauck was surely right in his earlier correction, τῇλ' ἔστω λ. One suggestion of my own on this fragment I may mention, to write for κυκνος αιει, which Nauck states to be the m. pr. of the MS., not κύκνος ἀχει, but κύκνος ᾄδει.

In the second long fragment of the Phaethon (781 N<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>) I am disappointed not to find any new suggestion for the unexplained οἰθασσιουσομολγον of the MS. (see Blass, p. 11 of his Kiel dissertatio *de Phaethontis fragmentis Claramontanis*). The first part of it is probably, as Hermann conj., οὐ θασσον; οὐ(κ) (οὐχι), but neither his ἄμολγον, nor Dobree's σταλαγμὸν, nor Herwerden's θρόμβον carries conviction. In v. 18 Hermann's conjectural ὀφείλω, 'I have to thank you for this espousal,' is accepted in the former half of Dr. Blaydes's book, whilst Wilamowitz's perhaps more likely αἰίδω is commended in the second (p. 343). In 33 τοῖς κατὰ στόμα has been ingeniously corrected by Blass into τοῖς κατὰ σταθμά; but may not κατὰ στόμα be right, 'the gods who are sung,' as in Nub. 158? In 36, where the MS. gives ἀφηστισώφρωνπασανσαρχεταιθε. ι (Blass, p. 13), Blaydes would write ἀφ' ἧς γε σώφρων πᾶς τις ἄρχεσθαι φιλεῖ. Possibly ἀφ' ἧς γε σώφρων πᾶς ἂν ἄρχεσθαι θέλοι. In 45 μή τιν' Ἥφαιστος χύλον Δόμοις ἐπισφρεῖς μέλαθρα συμπλέξῃ πυρί, Blaydes ingeniously conjectures ψόλον. And would not ἐπισφρεῖς be a very strong word to be applied to a *mental quality* like rage? 54, ληφθέντα φαύλως is well explained 'being taken lightly, being made light of.'

But it is time to turn to some of the newer fragments. We may take first the Aeschylean passage published by

Weil in 1879, and referred by him to the *Kāptes* of that poet (Nauck<sup>1</sup>, fr. 99; Wecklein 99; Blaydes, p. 256), and for other conjectures Wecklein, ii., pp. 297-8.

Dr. Blaydes has, in the main, contented himself here with recording the more plausible conjectures of the scholars who have preceded him, offering but little of his own. Among these latter, however, I would mention his οὐδ' ἐμέμψατο (8) for οὐκ of the papyrus. The line, as given in this, is

ἐκαρτερησααρουραςκαιουκεμεμψατο,

which is rather against ἄρουρα δ' οὐκ ἐ., as Wecklein prints it. Blaydes would accept Schenkl's ἐκ. ἄρουραν οὐδ' ἐμέμψατο. To me the indication of the papyrus seems clearly to point to κοῦκ ἐμέμψατο, and I would write the whole passage thus—

καὶ τρεῖς ἀγῶνας, τρεῖς γυναικίους πόνοὺς  
ἐκαρτέρησ' ἄρουρα κοῦκ ἐμέμψατο.

Verses 15, 16, are thus given in the papyrus—*τρίτονδε τουνουυφορντιζεινχειμαζεται. σαλφηδοναιαχησδεξαρεος καθικετο.* Blaydes would elicit from the former of these verses—

τρίτον δ' ἐμὸς νοῦς φροντίσιν χειμάζεται,

holding doubtful language as to the latter. Here I agree in believing that *χειμάζεται* is sound, but would write the rest thus—

τρίτον δὲ τοῦ νοῦν φροντίσιν χειμάζεται,  
Σαρπηδόν, αἰχμὴ μὴ σ' Ἄρεως καθίκετο,

or,

Σαρπηδόν' αἰχμὴ μὴ 'ξ' Ἄρεως καθίκετο,

'a third suspicion welters in my mind's thought, that perhaps a spear launched by Ares may have reached Sarpedon,' or 'reached thee, Sarpedon.' Bücheler's *τρίτον*

δὲ τοῦ νῦν φροντίσιν χειμάζομαι gives, I think, too harsh a construction for the genitive.

Verses 18, 19, stand thus in the papyrus—

κλεογαρηκειενλοτισλοτισματος πασης υπερπερωντεςαλχιμουστενης,

in which the only thing certain seems to be that 18 begins with κλέος (or possibly κλύω) γὰρ ἦκει(ν), and ended with λωτίσματος. All the attempts recorded by Nauck and Wecklein seem unsatisfactory. But I wonder that all my predecessors have explained αλχιμου as some case of ἄλκιμος. It is more probably ἀγχιμου, 'neighbouring,' a word used by Euripides (fr. 859 N<sup>1</sup>), and well agreeing with στενῆς, 'the adjoining strait.'

Dr. Blaydes has devoted eight pages to a complete edition of the important Antiope fragment discovered by Sayce and Mahaffy (pp. 104-112). This new recension is very valuable, as illustrating Euripides by himself—surely, where a long and fine passage is in question, the first consideration. But it contains a fair number of new conjectures, *e.g.* A. 21 τίνες δὲ καὶ τί δρῶντες. B. 14 ἐκβαίνῃ, which the citations from other plays make more than probable, 19 πρῶτα, 22 σεμνὸν or σεμνὰ (nearly certain); C. 7 ἰὼ ἰώ, 11 ἀλαλάζ' ὦ, μέγα βοᾷτ' Ἄρεως ἵτω μέλος, accompanied by a rich forest of parallels; in 14 Mr. Headlam's suggestion that αἵματος has replaced an original δίκαιος is shown to be improbable, and my own conjecture ἔπαισεν defended by Hipp. 1172; 43, ἐπειδὴν δσιον ἦ Κάδμου πόλει; 46, Starkie's τὸ τόξον ῥῦμα πολέμιων is supported from Her. 261, Aesch. fr. 353, 2. The importance of this, the latest find of any magnitude that bears on Greek tragedy, make these pages one of the most interesting sections of Dr. Blaydes's work.

In the long and interesting passage ascribed to Critias, which attributes the invention of gods to the ingenuity of a 'shrewd and wise-minded man' (πυκνός τις καὶ σοφός

γνώμην ἀνήρ), who thought to deter mankind from crimes by imaginary fears of a vague abstraction which saw and heard everything, a passage to which the various settings of *Primus in orbe deos fecit timor* seem to go back as a probable source, Dr. Blaydes offers, amongst many others, the following suggestions:—In verse 19 he translates φύσιν θείαν φορῶν by *speciem divinam gerens*, no doubt rightly, as φορῶν indicates. 22, for ἐὰν δὲ σὺν σιγῇ τι βουλευέης κακόν, where Nauck edits κἂν σιγῇ τι, Blaydes proposes ἐὰν δέ γ' αὖ σιγῇ τι. I do not feel sure that σὺν is wrong, and similarly in 28,

ναίειν δ' ἔφασκε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνταῦθ' ἵνα  
μάλιστα' ἂν ἐξέπληξεν ἀνθρώπους ἄγων,

I can see no necessity for changing ἄγων to λέγων with Grotius, 'habitare dicebat deos ibi quo eos cum duxisset maxima formidine homines adfecturus erat.' In 37, for τοιοῦτους δὲ περιέστησεν Blaydes offers τοίους δὲ περιέστησεν.

I will not deny that this, the latest addition to the literature of the Tragic Fragments, appears to me not unfrequently to play too much into the hands of those who, like Blaydes's deceased friend Burges, are always scenting error in the traditional texts of MSS. Not a few verses which a long line of scholars have thought to need correction may be right. I will put a few of them together. The satyric *Inachus* of Sophocles probably, but not certainly, contained this verse—

τραχὺς χελώνης κέρχνος ἐξανίσταται,

'the harsh ruggedness of a tortoise-skin springs up' on the body of Io, metamorphosed into a cow; Nauck says 'χελώνης corruptum Herwerden writes τραχὺς δὲ φωνῆς κ. ἐξανίσταται, quoting Ovid, M. i. 636, *Et conata queri mugitus edidit ore*. Dr. Blaydes agrees with both in suspecting something wrong, and corrects thus τραχὺς δ' ὅπως κέρχνος

τις ἐξανίσταται, considering χελώνης a mere variant for κέρχνος. With great respect for these three distinguished scholars, I venture to maintain that χελώνης is a legitimate word, and has an intelligible meaning. What better type of roughness than a tortoise's corrugated and puckered skin? or what could more clearly suggest the unsightliness which had replaced Io's smooth and tender limbs? It is obvious, too, that the general meaning of roughness<sup>1</sup> is allowed by Blaydes, yet this is the only real objection to χελώνης.

A far stronger instance is Eurip., fr. 172, N<sup>3</sup>, which the MSS. of Stobaeus give thus—

οὐτ' εἰκὸς ἄρχειν οὔτε χρῆν εἶναι νόμον  
 τύραννον εἶναι· μωρία δὲ καὶ θέλειν  
 ὅς τῶν ὁμοίων βούλεται κρατεῖν μονος.

Nauck quotes no fewer than eleven corrections of these verses. It was time for Dr. Blaydes to observe, what I hope most readers will assent to, 'Futiles correctiones. Sensus est. Neque per se (Angl. to begin with; Gall. d'abord) aequum est neque consuetudinem hanc esse oportebat ut tyrannus aliquis esset,' and he rejects all the proposals except ἀρχήν. Even this seems to me quite unnecessary; surely ἄρχειν, 'to hold rule,' states the case at the outset, which is then repeated in another form, *more Euripideo*, in τύραννον εἶναι.

Soph., fr. 424, N<sup>3</sup>, is thus given in the MSS. of the scholia on Pindar—

πάντ' οἶσθα, πάντ' ἔλεξα τάντεταλμένα  
 μῦθος γὰρ Ἀργολιστὶ συντέμνειν βραχύς.

Blaydes (p. 51) would correct συντέμνει, a slight and perfectly probable emendation. Yet even here the infinitive

<sup>1</sup> For it might be urged that κέρχνος only applies to harshness of voice.

may be defended, 'You have the whole story; I have spoken all I was ordered; for my task is short for making quick end, as is the Argive way.'

Let us take another and longer specimen, Soph., fr. 524, N<sup>o</sup>. Campbell's edition represents the amount of alteration which can be thought necessary. There are ten verses. In 3 Valckenär corrected αἱ νέαι μὲν (or μὲν γὰρ) πατρός to αἱ νέαι μὲν ἐν πατρός: in 6 Dobree changed εὐφρονες to ἔμφρονες: in 10, for ἀληθῆ, Campbell would read with one MS. ἀήθη, Kock ἀπηνη, Blaydes ἀηδῆ. These, and the obvious alteration of διεμπολούμεθ' to διεμπολώμεθ', are all that is really required. But the conjectures on the ten verses in Nauck, not counting the above-mentioned, amount to no less than 14, including the names of Meineke, Cobet, and Herwerden. Dr. Blaydes adds many new ones. Were the text of this fragment in the condition of some of Catullus's poems, I could understand this, and even approve of it. As it is, I am obliged to swell (for once) the yelping chorus of those who think, perhaps ungratefully, that the art of the εἰκαστής is here lost labour.

Those who know Nauck's book have some reason to complain that English contributions to the literature of the Tragic Fragments are very scantily represented, and that some of their most convincing emendations are entirely omitted. The book I have here imperfectly reviewed will help future editors to a more complete knowledge of what has been written in this country no less than abroad.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## PAULY'S REAL-ENCYCLOPÆDIE.

RE-EDITED BY G. WISSOWA.

WE have all been brought up to believe, and we have corroborated by our own experience, that Pauly's Encyclopædia of classical antiquity was the most thorough and trustworthy book of the kind ever published. To me, for example, working in the byways of Ptolemaic history, nothing is still more serviceable than the admirable articles by Cless, which exhaust in citation or in reference all that was then known concerning the Greek kingdom of Egypt. So that even after half a century the book retains a great and permanent value. But when we consider the strides that have been made in all departments of classical learning, of which this Ptolemaic epoch is again a capital illustration, no one will deny that a new edition must be highly necessary of a standard work more than fifty years old. But the undertaking is one huge enough to intimidate both editors and publishers. For such a work cannot be merely corrected; it must be re-cast. There is of course to be found in Germany an ample supply of specialists, who can produce thorough articles, up to date, upon almost any classical problem. But then they are a difficult team to drive. There are questions of harmony between one man's views and another's not easy to settle; there are questions of balance in the relative length of articles, in which an editor, dealing with specialists, cannot but find many obstacles. Still more must this be the case when



the writers hail from all parts of Germany, and are not bound by that general unity of sentiment which might be expected from a single university. But we do not find that the Editor's home, Marburg, supplies any disproportionate fraction of the work; and so we cannot but heartily admire and thank Prof. Wissowa for undertaking a task which must indeed make him many grateful friends, but these friends will be his silent readers, while those whom he has not satisfied may be his out-speaking censors. He is indeed fully conscious of his difficulties, and has enumerated them in his Preface: 'von der durch die Verhältnisse unseres philologischen Büchermarktes gegebenen bescheidenen materiellen Honorierung ganz zu schweigen.' But if a man of science is deterred by difficulties, all progress in his field must be despaired of.

The Editor has adopted a principle the reverse of one preferred in the earlier edition. There the general treatment in large articles predominated, from which the reader was referred to many smaller ones on special points. In the present work the general articles are only intended to give a guide or clue through the field. The weight and detail of the special articles are increased.

In following this arrangement the Editor does not conceal from himself the impossibility of cutting down the articles of his specialists to the limits which a harmonious arrangement and the relative importance of the subject would suggest. To prescribe narrow limits to such men would be to shipwreck the whole undertaking. But this concession does produce grave inequalities. There is an essay of 60 pp. on *Aberglaube*, apparently very exhaustive, whereas *Aiggyptos* (Egypt) occupies only 25, and is defective in its bibliography—Letronne's *Recueil*, which resumes all that was in his *Recherches*, and is 20 years later, with large additions to the material, is overlooked, nor are the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptologie* or the

*Revue égyptologique* mentioned, perhaps because they are periodicals; but surely such special periodicals are among the foremost of the literature of the subject. Neither here nor under *Alexandria* is Mr. Poole's *Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes* noticed.

But before I leave the subject of disproportion I shall cite one case where Prof. Wissowa might fairly have set down his foot. *Aginis*, which I must tell even the readers of *Hermathena* is the name of a village in Susiana, occupies over 7 columns (nearly 3 pages), Cn. Jul. *Agricola* 1½ lines (to be supplied, I suppose, by a larger article under *Julius*). There are very few cases indeed of excessive brevity; if the book has any fault it is the very commendable one of being too elaborate; 2900 double-column 4to pages to exhaust A-AP, and no more, point to a voluminousness which is only to be defended by the exceeding thoroughness of the work. Probably it will take the place, in many a poor scholar's library, of a whole shelf of partial treatments, and so it may prove a veritable economy, if the matter is duly thought out.

But the reader who takes this view will require some assurance that the staff of contributors is such as he may implicitly trust. So far as my knowledge of the German philological world goes, this is certainly the case. The stately catalogue of the writers, actual and prospective, printed in the front of the work, gives us all the security we could demand. Such names as Crusius, Hirschfeld, Hübner, E. Meyer, Puchstein, Reitzenstein, K. Wachsmuth, Wilcken—to select but a handful—make us not only expect that what they undertake is thoroughly done, but that they would not associate their names with incompetent colleagues. And if, in looking through the list, we miss some great names that we should gladly have found there, and find many not yet familiar to the English classical student, it should be remembered that elderly

men of great fame, with ample duties on hands, are not so likely to throw all their best work into such articles as are younger men, still struggling for a due recognition, and pursuing, with an ardour only known in Germany, the byways of some special subject. To me no feature in this book was more striking than the masterly articles written by men whose names I had hitherto missed or overlooked, but which I shall not here quote, lest they regard it as a proof of my ignorance.

No single man could possibly criticize in detail such a mass of various learning, nor could it be done in a less space than the book itself occupies; for while the articles themselves are, as a rule, compressed and laconic, a difference of opinion with any of them should be maintained by argument. To go through and verify such treatises, for they are really such, as those on *Æra*, *Amazons*, *Altar*, would require a long and special study, and a large space to express its results. I will here only set down a few notes which have occurred to me in my reading of the articles that touch upon the period which now occupies me. As specimens of perfect short articles I may point to *Affe* (monkey) and *Amastriis*; as specimens of more sustained work Prof. Wilcken's *Antiochus*. The account of the recent excavations at the *Amphiareion* at Oropus will probably be new to most readers.

Here and there we find an imperfect knowledge of English authorities. Thus, in the article on the *Achæan League*, and elsewhere, the old edition of Freeman's *Federal Government* is alluded to, not Mr. Bury's valuable new edition (1893). The writer of *Amphiktyony* does not even mention Freeman's remarkable chapter on that subject.

The duties of the Egyptian *Agoranomi* are set down as Strabo states them, not as we learn them from the papyri. Strabo seems to pile upon them the work of

the *architects*, the *geometers*, and the dykewatchers (χωματοφύλακες).

Under *Alphabet* we have nothing but lapidary alphabets, nor is there any indication of the musical use of the early signs, or any reference to the subject of MSS. alphabets.

Under *Αμαλθείας Κέρας* we miss an account of the use of this emblem upon coins, especially the Ptolemaic.

The Egyptian aspect of the *Antigraphus* was not perhaps fully accessible to the writer. Our great new Monopoly Papyrus shows him to have been the vice-œconomos.

But there is no great book on growing subjects which can be, or pretends to be, complete. What we have before us is a faithful register of what is known about Classical antiquity in 1894, and as the subsequent volumes appear, this limit will be extended. As such, the book seems to me to stand quite alone in its completeness and in the general excellence of its execution.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

ON TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DIMEH  
(FAYYUM).

**I**N the Göttingen *Nachrichten* for December, 1892, F. Krebs has communicated an inscription on a black granite stele, found by H. Brugsch, near the north-west corner of the Birquet el Kurun, or lake of the Fayyum. It is apparently now at Berlin. Here is the text :—

A.

υπερ βασιλεως Πτολε	
μαιου του και Αλεξαν	
δρου θεου φιλομητορος	
Απολλωνιος Ισχυριωνος	
γραμματεων Πανταλε	5
οντι των ομοτιμων τοις	
συγγενεσι και οικονο	
μωι σιτικων της Ηρακλει	
δου μεριδος το ιηΛ	
κατηρτισατο διδοσθαι	10
παρα τε εαυτου και των	
δια της μεριδος ασχο	
λουμενων υπ αυτους	
και εις τον μετεπειτα	
χρονον κατ ετος πυρου	15
αρταβας ρπβΛ ο και κα	
τηρξατο απο νομμηνιας	
του Θωνθ του ιθΛ εις το	
αρτοκοπιν Σοκνοπαιου και	
Νεφερσηι θεοις μεγιστοις	20

His commentary tells us that Soknopaios is Sobek, or Souchos, of the island, and that Neferses is Isis.

That the date is the year of the death of Ptolemy Alexander I. (viz. 88 B.C).

That we here meet for the first time the *οικονομος των σιτικων*, as contrasted with *των αργυρικων*.

That we now know that the division of the province into three *μεριδες* is, as Wilcken had conjectured, not Roman, but Ptolemaic, and that the *οικονομος* of the *μερις* of Heracleides held the high rank of 'equality with the cousins' or peers.

That the gift of half an artaba of wheat daily is also imposed upon the heirs of Apollonios, a Greek, and his subordinates.

That the first payment was made on the first day of the 19th year of the king into the bakery of the temple (*αρτοκοπιν* is a mistake for *τον αρτοκοπον*, or *το αρτοκοπειον*).

Apart from the fact that the 'Petrie Papyri' (Part II.), which he had not yet seen, contain ample evidence of the existence of the three *μεριδες* nearly 200 years earlier than this time, and that it is not at all certain that a subordinate official called Apollonios, son of Ischurias, must be a Greek—the Egyptians of that day were often known by two names, one Greek, and one native—the following very similar inscription, which I copied at the Gizeh Museum, in March, 1894, throws new light on his text, and modifies some of his conclusions. I do not know whether it has yet been printed. Very probably it has appeared in some periodical which has escaped me. Even so, it is well worth reproducing in the present connexion, and on account of the curious questions which it raises. The material of this stele is also black granite, and the whole composition very similar, but in this case the lines are a little longer, and several important details are added.

## B.

υπερ βασιλεως Πτολεμαιου  
 του και Αλεξανδρου θεου φιλο  
 μητορος και Λυσανιου του  
 συγγενους και στρατηγου  
 και επι των προσοδων του 5  
 Αρσινουτου Lκ Αθυρ Ζ  
 επ Ανικητου οικονομου σιτικων  
 της Ηρακλειδου μεριδος κατηρ  
 τισθη διδοσθαι παρα τε εαυτου  
 και των υπασχολουμενων εν 10  
 τη οικονομια δια της μεριδος  
 κατ ενιαυτον απαρχην εις το  
 ιερον του μεγιστου θεου Σοκνο  
 παιου πυρου αρ<sup>α</sup>Τ ρπβν ωστε  
 εις εκαστην ημεραν του ενιαυ 15  
 του πυρου ν οι δε μεταληψομε  
 νοι την χρειαν μετρησουσι κα  
 τ ετος εις το ιερον τας ισας επι  
 λαμβανοντες την κατακειμε  
 νην υπο του Ανικητου εν τω ιερωι 20  
 γραφην του κατ ανδρα

It is well known that Alexander I. counted his own years up to 26, so that neither 19 or 20 would mean the last year of his life. We also have a new word for subordinate officials, *υπασχολουμενοι*: cf. A 12-13 for the equivalent.

We also learn that it was not a gift from these officials *and their heirs*, but a tax imposed upon these officials and their successors, and that a list of the officers had been written up in the temple by Aniketos.

Another fact is still more strange. While in the 19th year of the king's reign, a subordinate clerk to an officer of not the first class makes a gift on behalf of himself and

his successors to the god, in the 20th year a far higher series of officials—for the *strategos* of the whole province is brought into the dedication, issues an order noting that the very gift in question had been made under the official authority of Aniketos, who must have held the office of Pantaleon at an earlier period, and perhaps years before, for we may infer, from the absence of titles after his name, that he was dead. The amount of wheat given is exactly the same; it is given to Soknopaios (not to Isis), and is specified as an *απαρχή*, probably a tax on their profits, from the salaries of the officials. I now incline to infer, from the use of the verb *καταρτίζομαι* in both texts, that it is not a simple gift, but some compromise effected with the Egyptian priests of the temple, instead of some other claim.

But how shall we explain this more authoritative and more explicit account of the same donation coming a year after the former, and set up (most probably) near it in the same temple? For I was told at the Museum, and I fully believe, that the second text came from Dimeh also.

There is no solution that occurs to me, except that the second is an official correction of the first, and a snub to Apollonios for his impertinence. He boasts that he arranged the gift, and paid the first instalment. The chief officers over him now inform the public that the whole matter had been arranged in the days of a predecessor, and that all the officials were already bound by a formal list of their official posts (and perhaps salaries) in the temple. If this be so, was there ever a stranger pair of texts on the same question set up together?

Prof. Wilcken suggests to me that ll. 5 and 6 may go together, thus making Aniketos the successor of Pantaleon. Even then the explanation is not easy, and the shortness of l. 5 seems to indicate a pause in the sense, as I understand it.



164 TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DIMEH.

NOTES.—As regards the three *μερίδες*, even the first part of the 'Petrie Papyri' contained a plain mention of one of them, if I had only correctly deciphered it, viz. xxviii. (2), ll. 6, 7—

εἰ κώμη Αυτοδίκη τῆς Θεμιστοῦ μερίδος.

This document is dated in the 12th year of Euergetes I. (235 B.C.).

As regards Krebs's citation of another phrase from that book (xvi. (2) 5), I think that the fractured word at the end of the line is not *αρσιν*, but probably *αρτεμίδωρον*; at all events, a man's name, and I hardly think that the whole Arsinoite nome had only one nomarch.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

NOTE ON PROPERTIUS 3. 21. 26.

Illic vel studiis animum emendare Platonis  
Incipiam aut hortis, docte Epicure, tuis :  
Persequar aut studium linguae, Demosthenis arma,  
Librorumque tuos, docte Menandre, sales.

*Docte* in the two pentameters cannot have been written by Propertius. I now suggest to leave *docte Menandre* untouched, but to write the first pentameter—

Incipiam, aut hortis, o Epicure, tuis.

Cf. 4. 9. 2—

Egerat a stabulis, o Erythea, tuis.

A. P.

## NOTES ON MARTIAL<sup>1</sup>

### LIBER SPECTACULORUM 4.

Turba gravis paci placidaeque inimica quieti,  
Quae semper miseras sollicitabat opes,  
Traducta est tgetulis nec cepit harena nocentes :  
Et delator habet quod dabat auxilium.

I propose *genibus*. The '*traductio*,' or 'parading,' of the informers in the arena is a historical fact. If they were made to crawl through *on their knees*, the disgrace would of course be more effective.

### LIBER SPECTACULORUM 21. b.

Orphea quod subito tellus emisit hiatu  
Versa t̄miramur ? venit ab Eurydice.

So the MSS. *Mersum*, *miramur* ? Munro, Friedlaender. *Miramur* ? *mersa*, Gilbert.

Orpheus was represented in the amphitheatre as slain by a bear : see the previous epigram (Ipse sed ingrato iacuit laceratus ab urso). I propose—

Orphêo quod subito tellus immisit hiatu  
Ursam miramur ? venit ab Eurydice.

Martial may perhaps hint that Eurydice was so anxious for the company of Orpheus in Hades, that she sent the bear to kill him. The contraction *Orphêo* does not occur in Martial, but is common in Latin poetry.

<sup>1</sup> Friedlaender's Edition.

## III. 58. 33.

Fert ille ceris cana cum suis mella  
 Metamque lactis Sassinate de silva.  
 Somniculosos ille porrigit glires.

The scene is near Baiae, so *Sassinate de silva* cannot be right: Friedlaender reads *Sassinatis: e silva Somniculosos* &c.; but then *e silva* is pointless. Is it possible that Martial wrote *gilva*? cheese from the milk of a dun cow of Sarsina? The omission of *vacca* is in Martial's manner: cf. iv. 88. 7, *rugosarum Picenarum (scil. olivarum)*.

## V. 2. 6.

Quintus cum domino liber iocatur:  
 Quem Germanicus ore non rubenti  
 Coram Cecropia legat puella.

I should prefer *iocatur Quae*, i.e. 'ea iocatur quae': cf. Ovid's 'mimos obscena iocantes,' &c.

## VI. 14.

Versus scribere qui potest disertos  
 Non scribat, Laberi: virum putabo.

*Conscribat*, Friedlaender, with Schneider. Rather *nunc scribat*: 'now' with emphasis, not always saying he could do it if he chose.

## VIII. 17.

'Narrasti nihil' inquis 'et a te perdita causa est.'

Perhaps *navasti*: cf. *navare* aliquid, Cic. Fam. vi. 1.

## VIII. 75. 15.

Hic mihi, de multis unus, Lucane, videtur  
 Cui merito dici 'mortue Galle' potest.

Perhaps *de vivis*.

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## IX. 42. 8.

Felix tunc ego debitorque voti  
 Casurum tibi rusticas ad aras  
 Ducam cornibus aureis iuvenum.  
 Nata est hostia, Phoebe; quid moraris?

The sense demands something like *Digna*.

## IX. 43.

Hoc habuit numen Pellaei mensa tyranni,  
 Qui cito perdomito victor in orbe iacet.  
 Hunc puer ad Libycas iuraverat Hannibal aras;  
 Iusserat hic Sullam ponere regna trucem.  
 Offensus variae tumidis terroribus aulae  
 Privatos gaudet nunc habitare Lares.

Martial is speaking of a statuette of Hercules which had passed through the hands of Alexander, Hannibal, and Sulla. To these I suggest that Cleopatra should be added, and that *Phariae* should be read for *variae*. In ix. 35. 7, P has *vario* for *Phario*. Martial elsewhere has *Arsacia aula*, *Tarpeia aula*, *Augusta aula*, *Parrhasia aula*, and *Pharius* is his regular word for 'Egyptian.' 'Tumidis terroribus' suits *Pharia aula* remarkably well.

## IX. 53.

Parendum est monitis, fiat quod uterque volumus,  
 Et quod utrumque iuvat.

Perhaps *solemus*.

## IX. 54. 9.

Inde salutatus picae respondet arator,  
 Hinc prope summa rapax milvus ad astra volat.

The MSS. are divided between *in astra* and *ad astra*; but I do not think either *ad* or *in* is sound. I read—

Hinc prope summa rapax miluus astra volat,  
*i.e.* 'prope astra volat.' No doubt *hinc prope* is good

Latin, but *inde* demands *hinc* by itself. Compare Persius's line 'Dives arat Curibus quantum non miluus errat,' where many MSS. give *milvus oberrat*.

## X. 34. 5.

Dignus es, ut possis tutum servare clientem :  
Ut liceat tantum vera probare potes.

Perhaps—

Et (libeat tantum vera probare) potes.

*Et*, Scriverius.

## X. 50. 5.

Heu facinus ! prima fraudatus, Scorpe, iuventa  
Occidis, et nigros tam cito iungis equos.  
Curribus illa tuis semper properata brevisque  
Cur fuit, et vitae tam prope meta tuæ ?

On the death of Scorpis, the famous *agitator* of the Circus, the Frederick Archer of his day, who died, like Archer, before he was thirty. I am utterly unable to extract any tolerable sense out of *semper*, and I believe it to have expelled the real word. I read—

Curribus illa tuis *καμπή* properata brevisque  
Cur fuit, et vitae tam prope meta tuæ ?

The difficult *campe* may easily have been turned into *sempe*'.

## X. 51. 5.

Quos, Faustine, dies, qualem tibi Roma †Ravennam  
Abstulit ! o soles o tunicata quies.

Friedlaender gives up *Ravennam* (*Ravenna*, *Ravennas*), and approves of *recessus*, which is in one MS. The testi-

mony of the MSS., however, is decisive, that *Ravennam*, or something like it, was in the archetype. Martial is condoling with Frontinus, on account of losing his seaside holidays at Auxur. I think we should read either *qualem tibi Roma marinam* [sc. villam], or *quales tibi Roma marinas* [sc. ferias]. The loss of one *ma-* may account for the corruption.

## XII. 3.

Ad populos mitti qui nuper ab urbe solebas,  
Ibis, io, Romam nunc peregrine liber,  
Auriferi de gente Tagi tetricique Salonis,  
Dat patrios Manes quae mihi terra potens.

Perhaps *petens* (i.e. *petens Romam*). Martial is fond of *peto*: cf. x. 104. 4, 'Hispanae pete Tarraconis arces,' also addressed to a book.

## XII. 36. 3.

Libras quattuor, aut duas amico,  
Algentemque togam, brevemque laenam,  
Interdum aureolos manu crepantes,  
Possint ducere qui duas Kalendas,  
Quod nemo nisi tu, Labulle, donas,  
Non es, crede mihi, bonus.

*Manu crepante* would sound to me more like Martial: cf. 5. 19. 14, 'Qui crepet aureolos unus et alter erit.'

## XII. 62. 3.

Nec regale nimis fulmen.

Probably *minis*, or *minans*. The 'minae regum' are often spoken of.

## XII. 66. 9.

Deinde ducenta sonas et ais non esse minoris.  
Instructam vili vendis, Amoene, domum.

I propose—

et ais : ‘ Non asse minoris,’

‘ I won’t take a penny less.’

A. PALMER.

## PROPERTIUS 4. 3. 11.

Haecne marita fides et perarce auia noctes  
Cum rudis urgenti brachia victa dedi.

So N (*parce*). The corruption in *et perarce* now seems to me to point to *sperata*, or *speratae*. *Sperare* was a verb especially applied to the hopes of a betrothed, or bride. Adopting the conjecture *gaudia* for *auia*, I would write—

Haecne marita fides, sperata et gaudia noctes.

A. PALMER.

A QUESTION IN CRITICISM ILLUSTRATED  
FROM CICERO'S LETTERS.

IT ought to be regarded as the last resource of despair, in criticism, to change the quality of a proposition by the insertion or omission of *non*. Any expedient is better than this; yet editors often resort to it. Here are some passages in Cicero's letters, two of them very celebrated, in which this daring liberty has been taken with the text of Cicero as it has been handed down to us in the MSS.

The first passage is the well-known criticism on Lucretius in a letter to his brother Quintus, Q. Fr. ii. 9 (11), 4, *Lucretii poemata ut scribis ita sunt multis luminibus ingenii multae tamen artis*. Nothing could be more just or pointed than the view which ascribes to Lucretius much of the genius of the old school of Ennius and Attius, together with (what might seem incompatible with it) the artistic finish of the new school represented by Catullus, who sought their models in the Greek Alexandrine poets, especially Callimachus and Euphorion of Chalcis. Yet the editors to a man insert *non* either before *multis* or before *multae*, and thus make Cicero deny to his great contemporary either *ingenium* or *ars*.

Another passage (Att. xii. 13, 1) is not so interesting, yet we can hardly be quite indifferent to Cicero's own analysis of his feelings on the death of his daughter Tullia, to which he so often recurs in the twelfth and thirteenth books of the letters to Atticus. It runs thus: *ardor tamen ille urget et manet, non mehercule indulgente me sed tamen repugnante*. All the editors insert *non* before *repugnante*; yet this insertion is not only unnecessary,



but even injurious to the meaning. It would improve the sentence to read *repugnante tamen*, which gives the more usual order of words, but the transposition is not absolutely required. The sentence means 'my agony haunts me still: not, God knows, because I foster it, but, though I struggle against it, in spite of my struggles.' Cicero *did* struggle against his grief, as is plain to anyone who reads § 3 of the letter which succeeds this in the correspondence, Att. xii. 14. There Cicero tells us that he even tried a remedy for his grief never hitherto essayed, in drawing up for himself an abstract of the sources of consolation which were open to him. But it was in vain, 'his torment came back on him, though he did not indulge it, but, in spite of his struggles against it, all the same'; for *tamen* meaning 'all the same,' or 'after all': cp. Att. x. 4, 5, *alter quia non tamen maiore pietate est me mirabiliter excruciat*, 'one gives me intense pain by not showing more affection after all,' that is, 'in spite of all my devotion to him.' Not unlike are *qui te tamen ore referret*, Virg. A. iv. 329; *alieniore aetate post faceret tamen*, Ter. Ad. i. 2, 30. The insertion of *non* here is particularly audacious, as the correspondence frequently declares explicitly that he did struggle against his grief to the best of his ability. As an example of such passages, it will be enough to adduce one, *eum* [sermonem] *interpellat fletus cui repugno quod possum*, Att. xii. 13, a letter written two days after that in which the editors insert the *non*. Lactantius (Inst. Div. iii. 28, 9) tells how Cicero *in sua Consolatione* declared that he never failed to make a struggle against adverse fortune, and that there was only one case in which the struggle was in vain: that was the death of his daughter.

In Att. xiv. 1, 2, Cicero writes to Atticus that Matius, with whom he was sojourning, quoted to him a pointed criticism of Julius Caesar on Brutus, *magni refert hic quid*

*velit, sed quidquid vult valde vult.* Here many editors insert *non* before *magni*, because the *sed* appears at first sight inconsistent with *magni refert*. But it is, on the contrary, quite idiomatic: 'but at all events (whatever the importance to be attached to his advocacy of one view or the other) there is no doubt of the vehemence with which he maintains his view, whatever it may be.' The use of *sed* may be assimilated to that commented on by Mayor on Juvenal x. 185, 318, and compared by him to the French *mais*. But even were *sed* very difficult to explain, we should have no right to insert a *non*. We should rather assume that the remark of Caesar quoted by Matus had been made some time before the date of this letter, and that *magni* should be printed with a capital, and made to refer to Pompeius, to whom the attitude taken by Brutus would have been important. The form in which Plutarch (Brut. 6) gives the remark is far more intelligible, οὐκ οἶδα μὲν δὲ βούλεται, πᾶν δ' δὲ βούλεται σφόδρα βούλεται.

On the same principle, editors mar a very natural reflection of Cicero in Att. xii. 45, 2, where he writes from Tusculum that, though in other respects Astura was more endurable, he prefers to sojourn at Tusculum, because there is a better chance of seeing his friend, adding, 'nor does my grief fret me more here than elsewhere,' *nec haec quae refricant hic me magis angunt*. The editors change *nec* to *nunc*, and ascribe to Cicero a remark which directly contradicts the reading of the MSS., and which quite fails to account for his preference of Tusculum.

It is hardly worth while to notice the inserted *non* in Att. xiii. 32, 3, inasmuch as it leaves the sense unaltered, and seems to owe its presence to 'pure gaiety of heart' on the part of the editors. Surely the rhetorical question *potuisset* (which occurs frequently in the letters of this period) is precisely equivalent in meaning to *non potuisset*.

In Att. xiii. 30, 1, Cicero, in begging Atticus to show

attention to certain persons for whom he has no regards, adds, 'though indeed this kotowing business is almost criminal,' *istae autem κολακείαι non longe absunt a scelere*. Many editors follow Gronovius in bracketing the *non*, and putting into Cicero's mouth a feeble and badly expressed platitude, 'kotowing to people [though perhaps undignified] is certainly not wrong.'

It will be observed that I have referred only to a few passages, taken chiefly from a limited portion of the correspondence. I do not go so far as to assert that we are never justified in changing the quality of a proposition by the omission or insertion of a *non*. But I hold that we should resort to this expedient only as a desperate measure, and I am disposed to think that the passages where such a course is necessary will be found to afford some reason, apart from the sense, for the erroneous introduction or omission of the *non* by the copyists. For instance, the *non* might owe its omission to palæographical considerations, such as its standing before a word beginning with *non*, or to the juxtaposition of another negative, as in Att. xiii. 31, 1, *non enim puto tam expeditum Faberianum negotium futurum, etiam si est futurum, ut non habeat aliquid morae*, where the falling out of *non* before *habeat* was doubtless due to the preceding *non*. Sometimes, too, a remark is too subtle for the copyist, who hastens to render it commonplace by the omission or insertion of a negative particle. Where we can point to the possible source of an error through which the copyist misrepresented the text, we are justified in correcting that error. What we ought to protest against is the assumption that, because *non* is a short word, it may be treated like short words which have little or no effect on the meaning of the whole sentence, and may be lightly omitted or inserted at the caprice of the editor.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

FURNEAUX'S *DE GERMANIA*.<sup>1</sup>

MR. FURNEAUX has long made Tacitus his special study, and it is with unfeigned pleasure that we receive now from his hands an edition of the *De Germania*—that *Libellus Aureus*, as it is styled in the *Editio princeps*. In his Preface, Mr. Furneaux tells us that he has aimed at ‘striking a balance between the fulness of an exhaustive edition and the meagreness of a school-book.’ Would that many school-books with voluminous notes had been written with his clearness and chaste brevity.

The text of the *De Germania* is in a much less satisfactory state than that of the *Annals* or *Histories*; but the editor has shown great tact, and his usual sobriety of judgment, in dealing with the various emendations proposed, and has in many cases wisely left the text unaltered, and thought out its meaning, rather than admit rash interference. On the whole, he follows Halm, dissenting from his views, with good reason, in some important passages. But it seems doubtful if Mr. Furneaux is right in choosing the reading *principis dignationem* (13. 2), taking *dignationem* in an active sense, which is not in accordance with the usage of Tacitus. The best MSS. read *dignitatem*, which gives a plain sense.

In 26. 1, Mr. Furneaux rightly adopts the reading of the Bambergensis, *viciis* (villages), and thereby can explain

<sup>1</sup> *Cornelii Taciti De Germania*, edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Map, by Henry Furneaux, M.A., for-

merly Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1894.

the corruptions *vices, vice, in vices, in vicem*. In this he is supported by the great authority of Waitz. Halm had hopelessly enclosed the word in brackets.

In 30. 3, *equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere*, he justly discards Halm's needless change to *parere*. If emendation were needed, *patrare* might be suggested, an archaic word considerably affected by Tacitus: cp. Ann. xiii. 41, *quo (die) patrata victoria*; ii. 26, *posse bellum patrari*; iii. 47, *patratum bellum*; and ii. 39, where all editors since Rhenanus read *patrata caede* for *parata* of the MS.

In 45. 1, Mr. Furneaux rightly defends the MS. reading *emergentis*, 'rising' out of the ocean, against the disfiguring corrections *se mergentis, immergentis, mergentis*. Tacitus has just mentioned that the brightness of the evening sun remains till morning (*cadentis solis fulgor in ortum edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet*), and dawn is announced by the increasing light, and, in addition, by the sound of the sun 'rising' out of the ocean and the vision of his steeds. *Equorum* seems here the right reading, not *deorum* of the MSS. Probably the error arose in this way: a copyist omitted the *q*, which he inserted afterwards (above the *e*) with a long upper stroke, so that it looked like *d* to the next copyist, thus—<sup>4</sup>*eorū*.

In 46. 3, *sola in sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant*. We do not see the point of Meiser's alteration of *spes* to *opes*, which necessitates the further change of *sola* to *solae*. 'Their only reliance is in arrows'; for this use of *spes*, cp. Cic. Inv. i. 71. An instance where Mr. Furneaux and the editors depart from all the MSS. is in changing *Sueui* to *Suebi*, in deference to the Medicean manuscripts of the *Annals* and *Histories*. Also at 37. 5, in changing Marcoque Manlio to Gnaeoque Mallio. The name of this Consul was undoubtedly *Cn. Mallius*, as can be proved from contemporary inscriptions: cp. Mommsen,

C.I.L. 1. p. 152. ed. 2. It is only late writers like Eutropius and Orosius who call him *Manlius* or *Manilius*. The change, 36. 1, *nomine* to *nomina*, is unavoidable: modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt: the MS. corruption may have arisen from mistaking a reading *superiori* for the ablative, and then making matters worse, by writing *nomine*, in fancied agreement with it.

It is a pity that Mr. Furneaux has purposely omitted much sociological matter, which would, to most readers, have greatly enhanced the value and charm of this edition, and which would, perhaps, have awakened in the British schoolboy much of that interest which the *De Germania* always excites in Germany. It would also, to some extent, have built a golden bridge over the ever-widening chasm which separates the 'classical' from the 'modern' side.

Apart from extrinsic interests, the *De Germania* is well adapted for early use as a school-book; because no boy, however young, can read it without his attention being aroused by its striking style. In the work of Cicero, or Livy, the art is so perfect, that it conceals the art, which can only be really appreciated by mature students. For as Quintilian says: ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit. But in Tacitus, the style is so self-conscious, that it coquets with the reader; its object being not so much to please, as to attract attention and admiration, to pose, to strike the fancy, to display itself ostentatiously, and show off its cleverness. And so a schoolboy may begin to learn that there is such a thing as style, and may feel something of its power, while he is prepared even by the faults of this style for better appreciating beauties which are less pronounced and less obtrusively forward.

The affectations of the *De Germania* however, are not confined to language and idiom, but are to be

found in the author's manner of dealing with his subject-matter. He affects the quasi-poetic opinion that the distant regions of Northern Europe are the abode of virtue, and sighs for that better world, *ibi enim nemo vitia ridet, nec corrumpere nec corrumpi saeculum vocatur*. But his virtuous aspirations are forced and theatrical. We cannot help feeling that he is thinking all the while of dramatic effect; that he is strutting about upon cothurni for *our* edification; that he is insincere, and sometimes absurd. For instance, in speaking of the Fenni, he describes the miserable wigwam of interwoven branches which is their only shelter from wild beasts and weather; and, with all the insincerity and affectation of a rhetorician, adds, '*sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare : securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset.*' These gymnosophists have, forsooth, of deliberate philosophic choice, reached the Nullpunkt; and Tacitus, in his pretence of admiring them, reminds us of mad Lear addressing poor Tom in the storm :—

*Lear.* Noble philosopher, your company.

*Edgar.* Tom's a-cold.

*Gloucester.* In, fellow, there, into the hovel: keep thee warm.

*Lear.* Come, let's in all.

I will keep still with my philosopher.

Much as he lauds German virtues to point a contrast with Italian vice, he remains a Roman to the last. He looks down with contempt upon the barbarians' religion, which he brands with his usual term *superstitio*, and takes care to paint them as non-Roman in their dirt as well as in their virtue, in *omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt*. And his essay concludes with a characteristic note of

insincerity: cetera iam fabulosa: Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum voltusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere: *quod ego ut incompertum in medio relinquam.* This is the Olympian manner with a vengeance; he is so nicely critical, that he hesitates to call such tales positively incredible—preferring to pose on stilts in an attitude of philosophic doubt.

Mr. Furneaux has taken Tacitus seriously for so many years, that possibly he considers it a kind of impiety for anyone else not to treat him with equal solemnity. But the twenty-first chapter seems, at a very early date, to have drawn a smile from some reader not wholly destitute of humour. It gives an account of the extraordinary social arrangements of the Germans, and we cannot but feel that the passage marks 'a period in which the historian is still at times subordinate to the orator.' It lacks the gravity and truth of the historian, and has a very rhetorical, not to say comical, complexion. Every German is said to keep open house; 'tis impious to exclude any comer; 'tis Liberty Hall for the guests as long as they stay; and when everything has been eaten and drunk, they all leave, while their sometime host, now that 'his hearth is desolate,' puts them on the 'spoor' of another good host, and accompanies the 'surprise party' to his house, non invitati adeunt, nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur: (*humanitate*, like 'mobled queen,' is good :) abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris. Surely all this is mere midsummer madness; it is Le Pays de Cocagne that Tacitus is describing, and not the land of forest and swamp; and some reader, feeling this, added at the end of the chapter an amused and ironical marginal note, 'victus inter hospites *comis*!' which may be translated 'this is Schlaraffenland indeed!' These words are now in the text, and Mr. Furneaux does not exclude them, but merely brackets



them. Yet they cannot be from Tacitus, for if taken seriously they constitute a most lamentable bathos, which is only made worse by the well-intentioned alterations suggested by learned Germans, who seem never to have scribbled criticisms in margins themselves. Victus inter hospites communis ; vinculum inter hospites comitas ; victus inter honestiores comites : such are the violent and inept changes made by scholars who cannot see that the remark is jocular.

GEORGE WILKINS.

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PROPERTIUS II. 30. 19, 20.

*Non tamen inmerito* Phrygias nunc ire per undas  
Et petere Hyrcani litora nota maris ?

So N, with *Num* in margin. No other MSS. have anything like this. Most and best have

*Nunc tu dura paras.*

This passage has hitherto been considered one of the few in which N is discredited. But what if the true reading be—

*Num tamen* IN MENTE EST Phrygias nunc ire per undas ?

In 4. 141 *mento* is corrupted in many MSS. to *merito*.

A. PALMER.

THE VULGATE OF ST. JOHN.<sup>1</sup>

THE fourth instalment of the Oxford edition of the Vulgate New Testament has now been issued, and the editors are to be congratulated on the completion of that portion of their great undertaking which is concerned with the text of the Gospels. The plan of the work has been already described in HERMATHENA, and nothing can be attempted in a short review like the present, save a notice of a few of the more striking textual variants, and of the learned notes in which the MS. evidence is set forth.

Twenty-eight selected manuscripts have been collated for the Gospel according to St. John. The excellence of the famous Codex Amiatinus (A) is as clearly brought out here as it was in the preceding Gospels; I have not observed more than seventy or eighty cases in which its authority has been outweighed. Of these, one of the most remarkable occurs at chap. v. 4. This verse has been excised, as is well known, by critical editors of the Greek text, and it has been relegated to the margin of the Revised English Bible. The Oxford editors have now decided that it did not form part of the Latin text put forth by St. Jerome, and they consequently omit it, the evidence on both sides being very fully given in their admirable and exhaustive note. To begin with, it is omitted in a certain number of MSS. (we now speak only of the *Latin* text), among which are found two at least of the Irish group, viz. the Book of Armagh (D) and the Book of Durrow.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine, ed. I. Wordsworth et H. I. White. Pars Prioris Fasciculus quartus. Euan-gelium sec. Iohannem. Oxonii, MDCCCXCV.

<sup>2</sup> The interesting Cambridge MS. classed KK. i. 24 (which, following Dr. Hort, may be cited as *cant*) has the verse, with the curious interpolation in the text (not in the margin), 'hoc in grecis exemplaribus non habetur.'

Again, in the MSS. in which the verse is found, it appears in three quite distinct forms, and the diversity of these further makes against its genuineness. The general type of No. 3 (we have no space for the others) is: 'angelus autem secundum tempus lauabatur in natatoria et mouebatur aqua et qui prior descendisset in natatoriam post motionem aquae sanus fiebat a languore quocumque tenebatur.' This, as the editors note, is found in (among other places) the Old Latin codex *r* (Usserianus), the Book of Moling, the Rushworth Gospels (R), and the margin of the Gospels of Epternach (*ƿ<sup>ms</sup>*), all of which have 'Irish' or 'British' affinities. It is, perhaps, worth registering that a similar form of text is found in at least two other MSS. of the same family, viz. the Stowe St. John and the Bodleian Gospels classed Rawl. G. 167. The text of the Book of Dimma here is not quite easy to classify: 'angelus autem domini secundum tempus discendebat de caelo in piscinam et mouebat aquam; et quicumque prior discendisset in natatoriam post motationem aquae sanus,' &c. (as above). I do not know of any other authority for the addition *de caelo*; but it is a gloss of little importance.

A group of Latin manuscripts very similar to the above supports a gloss introduced from Mark xv. 38, with some Greek and Syriac authorities, after verse 30 of chap. xix. The editors cite D *ƿ<sup>ms</sup>* R *r* for the addition 'Cum autem exspirasset uelum templi scissum est medium a summo usque deorsum.' The Book of Dimma (*dim*) and the Corpus Christi MS. at Oxford No. 122 (*corp*), also give these words in this place, as well as a large number of MSS. of the Irish family registered by M. Berger.<sup>1</sup>

Again, in the middle of the verse, John xxi. 6, there is introduced from Luke v. 5, the clause, 'dixerunt autem per totam noctem laborantes nihil coepimus in uerbo

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 45.

autem tuo mittemus,' in the MSS. DE<sup>1</sup> ðR, as the editors tell us. It is a common *additamentum* in the Irish texts, and is also found in *dim*, *corp*, and *stowe*, in addition to the MSS. cited by M. Berger.<sup>2</sup>

For another remarkable addition found in Irish texts we may note xx. 16, where DE have at the end of the verse, 'et occurrit ut tangeret illum.' The editors cite for this interesting gloss (in addition to other Greek and Syriac authorities) the cursives 13-346, two of the Ferrar group. We may add 556, which belongs to the same family, and for Latin authorities, Rawl. G. 167, *cant* and *stowe*. The words also occur in the Book of Moling, but have been expuncted.

The grouping of authorities in this last case suggests an important question, more easily asked than answered, as to the relation between the Ferrar family and the old Latin texts, from which presumably many of the interesting variants in the Irish recension of the Vulgate are ultimately derived. Such grouping occurs more than once, and some of the more remarkable instances in the Gospels may be given.

(a) Matth. x. 14. After πόλιως, 13-346-556 (69 being deficient in the first half of Matthew) with Æ insert ἡ κώμης, while we find 'de ciuitate uel de castello illo' in D L Q g<sub>1</sub> *corp*, *chad*, and *dim*, six at least of which consistently present the Irish form of text.

(b) Matth. x. 23. The four available Ferrars, with the Greek uncials DL, some other cursives and the Armenian version, testify to the additional clause καὶ ἐκ ταύτης διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην. This is found in a number of European and mixed old Latin texts, and among Vulgate MSS. in E and the Book of Kells (Q).

<sup>1</sup> E is the Egerton MS. at the British Museum numbered 609, formerly cited as *mm*.

<sup>2</sup> See Berger, *l.c.* p. 45.

(c) Matth. xiii. 35. The four available Ferrars insert with **N** 1. 33. 253 the name of the prophet *Isaiah* (a mistaken correction for *Asaph*, according to Eusebius and Jerome); the only Latin MS. which is registered as having this is R.

(d) Matth. xxi. 29, 30. These verses are transposed by the five Ferrars along with B, 4, 238, 262, the Bohairic, Jerusalem Syriac, and Ethiopic versions. A similar change of order is found in the Latin MSS., *r*, (Codex Usserianus alter), R, *dim*, and a corrector of the Codex Toletanus.

(e) Luke xi. 37. The five Ferrars furnish the only Greek authority for the final clause *εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Φαρισαίου ἀνεκλίθη*; there is a trace, as it seems, of this in R, *aur*. (Codex aureus Holmiensis) and in them alone of Latin texts, viz. they add *domum* after *ingressus*.

(f) John iv. 42. Here 13-69-124 (346 and 556 are deficient at this point) with **N**, **Π**<sup>2</sup>, 1, 118, the Curetonian and Jerusalem Syriac, and the Armenian versions support the addition *ab eo* found among the Latins only in R *dim*.

(g) John xviii. 16. Here Jerome seems to have followed the true Greek text ἄλλος, and so the true Vulgate is *alius*. But the five Ferrars, with a couple of other cursives, and the Bohairic and Ethiopic versions, support ἐκεῖνος for ἄλλος. This is equivalent to *ille*, which we find in *q* of old Latin codices, and in some Vulgate MSS., e.g. A, S (the Stonyhurst St. John) and *aur*. The other European old Latin texts for the most part (*abc fff<sub>2</sub> r*) have a reading conflate of this and the true text, viz. *ille alius*. For this there is (as it seems) no Greek authority.<sup>1</sup>

(h) John xx. 29. Here 346-556 (not the rest of the Ferrar kindred, however) with **N**, 19, 60 and the Syriac versions,

<sup>1</sup> It is worth while to point out that the reading here of the Ferrar group is, through an oversight (rare indeed in

this careful and scholarly edition), given by the Oxford editors as ὁ ἄλλος ἐκεῖνος. The facts are as above.

support the interpolation of *me* after *qui*, which is found in Rawl. G. 167, *gat* (Paris, *Nouv. acquis.* 1587), *dim*, *stowe*, and in a citation of the whole passage in the *Leabhar Breac*, all characteristic Irish authorities.

As far as the Irish Vulgate texts are concerned, these readings are, doubtless, traces of mixture with an Old Latin base; and it is most likely that this Old Latin was of what is known as the 'European' type. That this European Old Latin has connexions with the Ferrar text seems highly probable;<sup>1</sup> and it may be worth while to note a few additional cases of interest, where the *Vulgate* Latin MSS. have not preserved any trace of affinity.

John ix. 27. The five Ferrar kindred (in company, *teste* Abbott, with No. 77) have *ἐπιστεύσατε* for *ἠκούσατε*; the only registered Latin trace of this is found in *r* (Ussher's principal Old Latin Codex), which has *creditis*.

Mark x. 12. The five Ferrars with D, 28, 81 (nearly) and the Armenian version support *γυνή ἐάν ἐξέλθῃ* (for *ἀπολύσῃ*) *ἀπὸ ἀνδρός*; and this is very like the text of *a b c ff<sub>2</sub>* and *q*.

Matth. i. 17. This is not a conclusive case in point; but it may be cited, as the verse has been discussed a good deal lately in connexion with the Old Syriac Gospels discovered on Mount Sinai by Mrs. Lewis. Here, for the received *Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός*, 346 and 556<sup>3</sup> give *Ἰωσήφ ὃ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος μαριάμ, ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον χριστόν*. This has support not only from European Old Latin, but from Old Latin codices of all families (as well as the Curetonian Syriac and the Armenian). The reading of the Book of Dimma is as follows: ' . . . Ioseph

<sup>1</sup> In Dr. Abbott's edition of the Ferrar group, in 1877, he notes (p. L.): 'Of versions we find most frequent agreement with the Armenian, and

some of the Italic or Old Latin.'

<sup>2</sup> Tischendorf does not give any Greek authorities for the variant; I do not know of any but these two.

uir (*sic*) Mariae, de qua natus est Iesus Christus, cui disponata uirga Maria. Maria autem genuit Iesum qui dicitur Christus.' This, though evidently a confused conflated reading, yet testifies to knowledge of the text preserved in the Ferrar MSS.

No one would assert, of course, that these and similar instances prove a direct connexion between the European Old Latin and the Ferrar cursives. South Italy has indeed been supposed by some to be the original home of the Ferrar text, and it may turn out that the MSS. used in the recension, called 'European,' of the Old Latin, were akin to that family. But the genealogical tree has yet to be drawn. For the parent stock, Professor Harris would take us back to Syria; and he finds the explanation of some of the family features in a supposed Syriac archetype influenced by Tatian's *Diatessaron*. Without entering into so large a problem, however, the phenomena of the European Old Latin texts seem, at least, to indicate some close relationship to the group 13-69-124-346-556.

One explanation of this relationship the editors of the Oxford Vulgate seem inclined to reject. 'De indole codicum 13. 69. 124. 346,' they say (p. 558), 'adhuc non satiliquet, sed latinizandi suspicio ualido fundamento deficiuidetur'; and they promise us a fuller investigation of this and similar questions in an epilogue, 'De codicibus graecis quibus Hieronymus usus fuerit.'

Upon this very important topic, Bishop Wordsworth and Mr. White give us just a hint or two. St. Jerome, in his letter to Damasus, states that, in revising the existing Latin text of the Gospels for his new version, he made use of old Greek MSS. Manuscripts old in the year 383 were indeed precious authorities for the text. And our editors announced, in a leaflet issued at the end of 1893, that they believed 'that Jerome's Greek MSS. exhibited a type of text which is not represented by any *one* Greek MS. or

class of MSS., and *sometimes* not by any *existing* Greek MS.' As an instance of Vulgate readings having only partial and sporadic attestation in existing Greek MSS., they note John vii. 34. Here Jerome seems certainly to have written *quaeritis*, for which there is overwhelming MS. authority, both Vulgate and Old Latin. But nearly all Greek MSS. support ζητήσετε, the future; and ζητεῖτε, the original of *quaeritis*, is found but in two, the Codex Petropolitanus (Π), and the Leicester Codex (69), which latter, it will be observed, is one of the Ferrar Company.

Or again, in John iii. 36, the Vulgate *incredulus est filio*, and the 'European' and 'Italian' Old Latin versions, on the whole, favour the Greek reading ἀπιστῶν τῷ υἱῷ found in two out of the three available Ferrars and in a few other cursives. The African Old Latin, on the other hand, follows the usual Greek reading ἀπειθῶν τῷ υἱῷ.

A third example of this nature is afforded by John vii. 12, where the Vulgate *turbas* (supported by *e* and *f*, Old Latin codices representing the 'African' and 'Italian' varieties respectively) corresponds to a Greek reading ὄχλους only registered for the Leicester Codex 69.

Again, in John xix. 34, the rendering of the Vulgate is notable, as it corresponds to an obvious corruption of the Greek text. The true Greek reading is ἐνυξεν = 'pricked,' which is the basis of most of the O. L. versions, *pupugit*, *perfodit*, &c. But the O. L. codices, *f* and *r*, have *aperuit*, which presumably indicates a Greek variant, ἡνοιξεν. This was adopted by Jerome, and it has support from the Peshito and Jerusalem Syriac. But for the Greek variant itself there is little or no evidence. The editors of the Oxford Vulgate note 'ἡνοιξεν 56 (Oxon. Linc. saec. xv.) 58 (Oxon. Coll. Nou. s. xv.).' This, however, is not accurate, as 56 has ἡνυξε, and 58 has ἐνυξε. But ἡνοιξε is found in Cod. 68, and appears in the Evangelistaria numbered 257 and 259, by Scrivener (x<sup>scr</sup> and y<sup>scr</sup>), which



have ενοιξεν and ενοιξε respectively. ενοιξεν is also found, *teste* Tischendorf, in Cod. 225.

The witness of the three Greek cursives 56, 58, and 68 has been so often misrepresented that it may be of interest to give the details.<sup>1</sup> First of all, Ussher collated 56 and 58 for Walton's Polyglot; and in the *apparatus criticus* of that great work it is implied *e silentio* that these codices have no variant from the common text worth mentioning. And this is the state of the case, and agrees with Dobbin's collation, who (in his *Codex Montfortianus*) states that Cod. 56 has ενυξε (it actually has ηνυξε) and Cod. 58 εμυξε by the first, but ενυξε by the second hand. Cod. 68 was first collated by Mill, and he gives its reading as ηνοιξε (it actually has ενοιξε). In this Mill was followed by Wetstein, and the statement is also made by Michaelis. But Wetstein, in his note, added inaccurately that 56 and 58 read ηνυξεν. Then Tischendorf, presumably following these authorities, has the note '56. 68 al. ηνοιξεν uel ηνυξεν,' i.e. 'Codices 56, 68, and some other cursives read either ηνοιξεν or ηνυξεν.' And I suppose that the statement in the note of the Oxford Vulgate is due to some further misinterpretation of this. There is really no MS. authority at all for ηνοιξε, as far as I know; the authorities for ενοιξε are, as has been said, 68, 225, and the Evangelistaria 257 and 259.

In the cases last mentioned, Jerome's text has but scanty Greek support. In xviii. 18, it has, apparently, none at all. Here all Greek MSS. have ἀνθρακὶν πεποιη-

<sup>1</sup> That the readings of 56, 58, and 68 are, respectively, as stated above, ηνυξε, ενυξε and ενοιξε, I have determined by personal inspection of the manuscripts in question.

Dr. Gwynn points out to me that the confusion between ηνυξε, ηνοιξε, and ενυξε is frequent in M; e.g. in Apoc.

vi. 12 it has ενυξε, and in vi. 1, 3, 5, 7, ηνυξε for ηνοιξε. The cursive <sup>l<sup>scr</sup></sup> = Apoc. 7 also reads ηνυξε in Apoc. vi. 3. So too in M, Mt. xx. 33, ἀνυγασιν; Mc. vii. 35, ηνυγησαν; Lc. xi. 9, 10, ἀνυγησете[-αι]; Jn. ix. 21, 26, ηνυξε; Jn. x. 3, ἀνυγει; Acts xii. 14, xiv. 27, ηνυξε.

κότες, but the Vulgate *ad prunas* (so also *c f*), and the O. L. *ad carbones* (*a b ff, r aur*), apparently correspond to something like *πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρακίαν*. Indeed *q* is registered as *alone* agreeing with the extant Greek; it has *focum habentes*.

Again, in xvi. 13, the Jerome version seems to be *docebit uos omnem ueritatem*, which corresponds to a Greek text, *διηγήσεται ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πᾶσαν*, extant in no N. T. codex, and only surviving in citations by Eusebius and Cyril of Jerusalem. The true Greek is *ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθειαν*, or *ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πάσῃ*, and this is followed more or less by a majority of O. L. texts. However, *c l* (as well as *m, aur*, and Cod. Sangallensis or *δ*) support *διηγήσεται*: and it is more probable that here (as in xviii. 13) Jerome left unchanged an older Latin rendering than that he was influenced by Greek MS. authority.

In x. 16, however, his text hardly admits of this explanation. The Vulgate is 'Et alias oues habeo quae non sunt ex hoc ouili . . . et fiet unum ouile et unus pastor.' The comment on this verse, issued privately by our editors in the circular already mentioned, is as follows: 'The Vulgate thus reads *ouile* in each case; the Old Latin have *unus grex* in the second case, except *δ*, which has *unum ouile uel pastorale*; all our Greek MSS. have *ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ταύτης . . . μία ποίμνη εἰς ποιμὴν*. Jerome (in Ezek. 46), proposing to translate *atrium*, distinctly implies that his Greek MSS. read *αὐλή* in each case. 'Et alias oues habeo quae non sunt ex hoc *atrio* . . . et fiet unum *atrium* et unus pastor; hoc enim Graece *αὐλή* significat, quod Latina simplicitas in *ouile* transtulit.' Bishop Westcott considers this a case of S. Jerome's carelessness, but the facts are, we believe, more consistent with a Greek text which had *αὐλή* twice over.' And in substance they repeat this in their formal critical note on

the passage, and they add: 'Hanc lectionem, i.e. *ouile* bis repetitum, pro insigni documento habemus Hieronymum codicibus graecis usum esse, ex familia quae ad nos non peruenerit.'

Other less striking cases of a similar opposition between Jerome's version and the Greek text, as we know it, might be given, but two from chap. xvii. must suffice. In verse 24 the O. L. and the true Vulgate have *ego sum*, but the Greek MSS. have εἰμι ἐγώ. The only Latin authority registered for *sum ego* is δ (the Latin version of the Cod. Sangallensis, which naturally follows the order of the interlinear Greek); this (the Greek order) is also found in the Stowe MS., whether by accident or as a survival of some older text is not to be determined now. And in the preceding verse (23) *et* is inserted in the Vulgate after *sicut* without Greek authority; it is also omitted in the O. L. MSS. *c d e f q* δ, to which we may again add *stowe*.

In xx. 25, the Vulgate MSS. are divided as to *fixuram* or *figuram*. No O. L. authority is known for the former, which, therefore, the editors presume to be a correction made by Jerome, and hence place in their text. (The Greek is τὸν τύπον, which *f q* have rendered by *locum* as if it were τὸν τόπον.)

We have no space for more; but there are many more valuable observations in the *apparatus criticus* which it would be instructive to cite. The notes to the last fasciculus of the Oxford Vulgate are even more interesting than those in the preceding parts. One is struck not only by the mass of MS. material that is here collected for the first time, but by the complete mastery over the material which is displayed.

J. H. BERNARD.

WADDELL'S *PARMENIDES*.<sup>1</sup>

WE desire to express our gratitude for Mr. Waddell's edition of the *Parmenides*—a nobly planned and no less nobly executed work. It contains an elaborate Introduction, with Text, and Notes critical and explanatory.

The Introduction is divided into two parts, of which the first deals successively with the authorship of the Dialogue, its position in the series of the Platonic writings, and its character and contents; while the second treats of the sources of the Text, and the chief manuscripts.

The Text is that of the celebrated Clarke MS. now in the Bodleian Library. The notes which follow consist, first, of a collation of the readings of the Clarke, Tübingen, and Ven. t MSS., in all the passages in which variation occurs, thus furnishing a complete and excellent *apparatus criticus*: secondly, of illustrative and discursive observations elucidating the sense of the Greek, and by a free commentary serving to determine its chief points of relationship to antecedent as well as to subsequent philosophy—Aristotelean, Neo-Platonic, and modern. No aspect from which student or critic could contemplate the *Parmenides* seems to have been neglected. The editor's design is as exact as it is comprehensive; and his attention to the *minutiae* of grammar is not the less because of his genuine and enlightened interest in metaphysics.

It was part of Mr. Waddell's purpose that the outward appearance should correspond to the inward character of

<sup>1</sup> Πλάτωνος Παρμενίδης. The *Parmenides* of Plato, after the paging of the Clarke Manuscript, edited with Introductions, Facsimiles, and Notes,

by William Wardlaw Waddell, M.A., Glasgow and Oxford. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, Publishers to the University, 1894.

his book. Having decided (as he tells us) to reproduce the form of the Clarke MS.—the highest authority for the text—the size of his page was fixed for him: this suggested facsimiles, &c. 'Metaphysics, palæography, æsthetics' (he says, with some humour), 'such was the writer's downward course.' The quarto volume before us, exquisitely printed on rich vellum, and embellished with facsimiles, than which nothing of their kind could be more beautiful, is a proof how well his publishers assisted him to realise his conception. But it is not merely this: it is a monument of that liberal devotion to *literae humaniores*, unfortunately now less common than it used to be, which, whenever it appears, is evidence of more than individual culture, and testifies to the still vivid and vivifying influence of classical antiquity on modern thought through the medium of our great Universities.

On the philological and philosophical aspects of the *Parmenides* our editor seems to have bestowed about equal attention. His opening disquisition on its authorship seems excellent. Neglecting no pertinent consideration, he arrives at the just conclusion that it is a genuine work of Plato. With regard to its position in the series of Platonic writings he says: 'On the whole it seems most consonant with evidence to assign to it a very early place among Plato's ontological speculations, to place it, for example, earlier than the *Theaetetus*, *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, *Phaedo*, *Philebus*, and *Timaëus*, and at least not later than the more abstract discussions in the *Republic*.' Recognising, with Dr. Jackson, that the *Parmenides* marks a break in the continuity of Plato's views and a reconstruction of his ideal system, he goes on to say: 'While Dr. Jackson represents Plato here as breaking with most of the opinions which we are in the habit of associating with his name in favour of a theory' [that which Dr. Jackson calls his later Theory of Ideas], 'for which we

have little or no documentary evidence, it seems more natural to hold that Plato here parts company with an early and immature conception, for which we have little or no documentary evidence, in favour of those more comprehensive and connected doctrines which we are in the habit of associating with his name.' We cannot enter into the controversy which these words are calculated to raise; but we may observe that the 'more comprehensive and connected doctrines' referred to are precisely those which the *Parmenides* assails.

The division of Mr. Waddell's Introduction which deals with the text and MSS. of Plato's writings is, perhaps, the most delightful feature of his work. In a fresh and easy style, which imparts interest to a subject in itself dry and tedious, he gives a systematic account of the ancient documents to which we owe our Plato. He explains clearly and simply how of a large number of MSS., those which occupy a position of 'clear pre-eminence' are reducible to three, of which one is in the National Library in Paris, another in the Bodleian at Oxford, the third in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. Of each of these three he gives a minute description based on personal inspection. But on the Oxford MS. he dwells with peculiar satisfaction. It is that which he has selected for his own text, and accordingly he tells us its history and the way in which it was discovered by Dr. Clarke in 1801. 'In the Vatican Library there is a Codex numbered 1205, of the sixteenth century, which, it appears, contains among other things, a catalogue of books with the following title:—*πίναξ τῶν ἐν τῇ σεβαστείᾳ μόνῃ τῆς Νήσου Πάτμου ἀξιολογωτέρων εὗρισκομένων βιβλίων*. Of this catalogue Mai says: 'Confectus fuit hic catalogus regnante Joanne Palaeologo, qui anno 1355 floruit; nec liber recentior occurrit.' It gives the names of 58 works (νη'); and among the entries is the following, the only one which corresponds to any item in

Clarke's list: *νε'. Δόγοι Σωκράτους, ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ Εὐθύφρων, ἡ περὶ ὁσίου. τί νεωτέρων, ὧ Σώκρατες· ἄχρι τοῦ Μένων, ἡ περὶ ἀρετῆς ἔχεις μοι εἰπεῖν* (sic). [Here observe that the Clarke MS. begins with the *Euthyphro* and ends with the *Meno*]. There can be no doubt about the identity of the work, and we thus learn that the MS. was in the Library of the Monastery of St. John, at Patmos, in the middle of the 14th century, being then more than four hundred years old. In this Library, sad to say, it would probably have been left to rot, had it not, like the Elgin marbles, been carried off by a countryman of our own. At the opening of the present century Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke, in the course of his long visit to the countries lying round the Levant,' by a series of fortunate circumstances, discovered and obtained possession of the manuscript. Mr. Waddell gives copious extracts from Dr. Clarke's account of his good fortune. Some of the happiness which his discovery afforded him lives in Dr. Clarke's pages, and lends a vivid interest to this portion of Mr. Waddell's work. The manuscript was placed by its discoverer, on his return to England, in the hands of his friend Professor Porson, who retained it until his death, after which it was bought by the Curators of the Bodleian Library. This MS. is described for us with loving minuteness by Mr. Waddell. Two pages of it are reproduced in facsimile: one, that which contains the beginning of the *Parmenides*; the other that containing the end of the *Meno* and close of the whole, with the colophon or *subscriptio*. This colophon informs us (in the handwriting of the original scribe) that the MS. was written by John (styled *καλλιγράφος* from his occupation) for deacon Arethas of Patrae, in the month of November of the 14th indiction, in the year of the world 6404. Byzantine reckoning assumed the creation to date from September 1st, 5509 B.C. Thus (attention being paid to the indictional cycle) the Clarke MS. was written in

November, 895 A.D. Mr. Waddell's text is printed line for line and page for page from this MS., 'the accentuation being, where necessary, adapted to the orthodox standard, and any divergence in reading which involves a change in letters or words being underlined.'

Having given this general account of the scope and method of Mr. Waddell's edition, we now proceed to consider it more in detail. While the *Parmenides* regarded as so much Greek presents no special difficulty, being indeed, notwithstanding doubts of its genuineness, a model of Attic diction, and in style (wherever its rigorous dialectic is compatible with style) unmistakeably Platonic, yet read as a contribution to philosophy, and particularly to the philosophy of Plato, its difficulties are so embarrassing as to excite at times a feeling of bewilderment. Hence the efforts of an editor who bestowed equal attention on it in both these aspects might be very unequally rewarded. So long as he confines himself to grammatical constructions, and to the explanation of particular passages, his task is comparatively light. But when he endeavours to exhibit the relation of the two main parts of the dialogue to one another; to state its purpose as a whole; to define its bearing upon the theory of Ideas traditionally ascribed to Plato; and to settle the question of its authenticity, perplexed as this is with doubts philological and philosophical: verily the burden laid upon him is not easy to bear. When we say that Mr. Waddell's edition is, as far as can be fairly expected, adequate in both the above respects, we feel that we are rendering it the highest praise. There is scarcely anything in his commentary to call for adverse criticism. Though his notes are learned and full, they are never heavy. He seems to have caught from Plato some of that well-bred philosophic ease which prevents his philosophy from becoming a burden to himself or his readers. 'We never' (he says) 'allow



metaphysics to overwhelm us, feeling that the laws of nature will continue to act until our system is ready.' It is worth noticing that Mr. Waddell, while referring on almost every page to antecedent and contemporary scholars, and frequently engaged in criticism, never expresses himself in terms discourteous or unkind.

Notes, pp. 75-6 of this edition. In the Clarke MS. *παρμενίδης* (not *-ίδης*) appears throughout. This circumstance and others cognate to it offer Mr. Waddell an opportunity for a good note on forms misspelt with *ε* or *ι*, in which quotation is made from Blass (*Aussprache des Griechischen*, 1888):—Diese Schreiber des 2. Jahrhunderts's [B.C.] wussten durchaus nicht mehr, wo sie *ι*, und wo sie *ε* setzen sollten, sondern schrieben, *Εἶρις*, *τεμιάς* [for *Ἴρις*, *τιμάς*] und wiederum *παραμινάτω* und *ιερίς*, &c. Meisterhans is also quoted to show that in Roman times *ε* took the sound of *ι* in pronunciation, and this irrespectively of quantity. Mr. Waddell concludes his note with the pertinent question:—Does this spelling *παρμενίδης*, &c., indicate that at any stage of its transmission our Platonic text had been written to dictation?—a fruitful idea, applied also in other notes.

We find mention made on p. 76 and elsewhere of 'Rhunken': is this a misprint for 'Ruhnken'?

P. 88. '*τοὺς δέ* = *αὐτοὺς δέ*, a known usage.' But *αὐτοὺς δέ* at the beginning of a clause or sentence = *ipsos* autem, while *τοὺς* = *eos*.

P. 89. For *αὐτῶν ἧ ὧν* of the Clarke and Venice MSS. Mr. Waddell reads in his text *αὐ τῶν τῷδε ὧν*, his own part of this being the *τῷδε* for *ἧ* of the MSS., which gives no meaning, but requires to be accounted for. Mr. Waddell says—'a palæographer will know that a contracted *τῷδε* in majuscules might be very like 'H.' Certainly with this change the sense is excellent.

P. 104. *πραγματεῖται*, misp. for *-εῖται*.

P. 106. Mr. Waddell says—'for ἀνάμνησις and the immortality of the soul we must go to the *Phaedo* and *Philebus*.' True, to the *Phaedo*: but why to the *Philebus*, which has not a word of either ἀνάμνησις (in the sense here referred to) or of immortality?

P. 109. Stallbaum's text (137A) has: ὁμως δὲ—δεῖ γὰρ χαρίζεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Ζήνων λέγει—αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν—a mere anacoluthon without excuse or explanation. The Clarke MS. gives—ὁμως δέ· δεῖ γὰρ χαρίζεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Ζήνων λέγει αὐτοὶ ἔσμεν. The Tübingen MS. agrees, except in placing καὶ before ἐπειδὴ—probably an attempt to render the sense clear by making καὶ conjunctive, and co-ordinating ἐπειδὴ with γὰρ. Venetus t agrees with the Clarke, except in punctuating after λέγει. None of these three MSS. has the γὰρ which Stallbaum's text shows us between αὐτοὶ and ἔσμεν. The syntax has been mended by a very simple correction. Instead of ὁ Ζήνων, read ὁ Ζήνων; ὁ Ζήνων λέγει = 'as Z. says.' Nothing could be better than this. But Mr. Waddell feels one difficulty, viz. 'that Ζήνων will have no article which is unusual hitherto.' But this entirely confirms the correction. Ζήνων *should* have no article here. Hitherto it has only had the article in narrative. In the dramatic portion of the dialogue it has not had it. The very misuse of the article here, if observed, might have suggested the obvious correction, against which Mr. Waddell supposes the absence of the article to militate. As no editor of whom we are aware has noticed this point, and as it is interesting enough to justify some detail, we will here set down some leading facts as to the use of the article with proper names in the Platonic dialogues, from which it will be seen that it could not have been expected in our passage.

Some of Plato's works are dialogues, and some are narratives of dialogues, in which, though the larger part

is dramatic, narrative sentences continually appear. *The article is almost invariably used with proper names in the narrative as distinct from the dramatic portions.* For example, Phaedo, in his narrative of Socrates' last conversation, when referring to him or any of the interlocutors by name, almost invariably uses the article. Such expressions as ἔφη ὁ Κίβης, διαβλέψας οὖν ὁ Σωκράτης, &c., are, needless to say, of constant occurrence. *But when one of the interlocutors in the actual dialogue as dramatically given mentions the name of another interlocutor in the third person, he does not use the article with this name, unless under special circumstances which contain the reason of his doing so.* In order to ascertain the facts respecting the article with proper names of interlocutors in narrative and in dramatic sentences or passages, we have gone through all the Platonic dialogues, using Stallbaum's text for the purpose; and we here proceed to state the results. We omit, of course, dialogues in which there are only two speakers.

Of the use of the article with the proper name of one interlocutor by another in dramatic dialogue,<sup>1</sup> there is in

Parmenides, . . .	No instance. <sup>2</sup>	Meno, . . .	None.
Philebus, . . .	None.	Gorgias, . . .	3 instances.
Theages, . . .	„	Theaetetus, . . .	5 „
Sophistes, . . .	„	Euthydemus, . . .	4 „
Hippias Minor, . . .	„	Protagoras, . . .	1 „
Charmides, . . .	„	Cratylus, . . .	1 „
Politicus, . . .	„	Laches, . . .	2 „
Republic, . . .	„	Lysis, . . .	1 „
Epinomis, . . .	„	Leges, . . .	1 „
Timaeus, . . .	„	Phaedo, . . .	9 „
Critias, . . .	„	Symposium, . . .	1 „

<sup>1</sup> In order to show the relative frequencies, we have counted, in a few dialogues, the cases in which one interlocutor speaks of another in 3rd person *without* the article. In the Parmenides

there are 8; in Philebus, 23; in Rep. I. and II., 22; in Phaedo, 36; in Symposium, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Except the spurious one to be corrected as above.

Thus, of hundreds of cases in which Plato's dialogists mention one another's names in the third person, there are only twenty-eight in which the article is used; but in most of these there are special reasons for its use, and in the remainder it is possibly spurious. It will be remembered that our survey has been made from Stallbaum's text.

In the *Gorgias*, as already stated, three seeming exceptions occur, sc. 448 E, 482 D, 514 D, but in all three the persons spoken of are for the nonce conceived as aloof from the conversation, as *persons*, not as comrades.

In the *Theaetetus* five cases occur, in four of which it is no exception to our rule. In 148 B Theodorus is twice referred to with the article prefixed to his name; but then *his book is at this moment under discussion*, and he is spoken of as its author; while in 188 B the article has to be used with the names (εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν λαβεῖν ὡς ὁ Σωκράτης Θεαίτητος ἢ ὁ Θεαίτητος Σωκράτης) not only because they are spoken of with that aloofness already referred to, but also in order to indicate the subject of each sentence. The fifth instance in the *Theaetetus*, 146 B, I shall pass over for the present.

In the *Phaedo* nine cases occur, but seven of these are found together in one passage, 102 B-C, where Socrates, Simmias, and Phaedo are compared to one another in size, and treated as so many things possessing the attributes of μέγεθος or μικρότης. With regard to the other two cases, in one, 86 D, the MSS. vary; about the other, 62 E, I say nothing more at present.

In *Protagoras*,<sup>1</sup> 240 A, μὴ ἡμῖν ὁ Πρωταγόρας τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐκπέρσῃ, the article is used with Πρ. for exactly the same reason for which it is used with Σ., and requires no explanation.

<sup>1</sup> *Obiter*, we emend *Protagoras*, 316 C, τοῦτο δ' οἶεται οἱ μάλιστα γενέσθαι, εἰ σοὶ συγγένοιτο. Correct to μάλιστ' ἂν, which was originally written μαλισταγ-

γενέσθαι, so that in later times the first gamma was omitted by some scribe who did not understand it, and took it for a piece of dittography.

In *Cratylus*, 435 C, we find τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμογένους = 'as H. said.' Perhaps the very form of the expression here demands the article with the proper name regarded as that of an author.

In *Laches* two exceptions occur, 180 B and 186 E, but in the latter (ὁ μὲν Σωκράτης κ.τ.λ.) the reason of the article is evident; in the former not so, and we add this to the cases to be left over for the present.

In *Lysis*, 211 B, and in *Leges*, 753 A, the explanation of the article is not obvious. Neither is it so in *Euthydemus*, 284 A, 291 A, 294 C, 303 E.

Thus, of the twenty-eight apparently exceptional cases in which the article is used by interlocutors with one another's names, there are only about ten which do not prove the rule. These ten require criticism, and it will be found, we are disposed to think, that criticism will remove most, if not all, of them.<sup>1</sup> But this note is already too long, and we must leave the subject for some other occasion. Enough has been said to show how needless is Mr. Waddell's hesitation about the correction of ὁ to δ in *Parmenides*, 137 A.

P. 112. ἐν ἄλλῳ μὲν ὃν κύκλῳ που ἂν περιέχοιτο ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐν ᾧ ἂν ἐν εἴῃ—the reading of the Clarke MS., which must mean—'if the one were in something else it would, I presume, be encircled by that in which it was.' Mr. Waddell considers the construction quite admissible. He defends it by reference to Thucyd. III. 59, ᾧ τινί ποτ' ἂν καὶ ἀναξίῳ ξυμπέσοι, and to Xen. *Mem.* II. i. 22, ἐσθῆτα δεῖ ἐξ ἧς ἂν μάλιστα ὦρα διαλάμποι. But the cases are scarcely parallel, and this use of ἂν with the second optative appears exceedingly licentious. Mr. Waddell says it is difficult to draw a line precisely between the cases in which ἂν after a

<sup>1</sup> By the kindness of Mr. Nicholson, say, that in seven of these ten cases the Bodley's Librarian, we are enabled to article appears in the Clarke MS.

relative goes with the verb (when the optative is used) and those in which it goes with the relative (when the subjunctive is used). Perhaps so; but grammarians have laboured hard to draw this line, and not, we think, without success. The rule is that when the clause containing the antecedent has (either in protasis or, as here, in apodosis with *ἄν*) an optative, referring to future time or to a merely hypothetical case without any reference to time, then the verb of the relative clause is in the optative without *ἄν*; e.g. πῶς οὖν ἄν εἰδείης περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὐ παντάπασιν ἄπειρος εἶης; Plato, *Meno*. 92 C. This second optative without *ἄν* corresponds to the use of 'was' in the translation above given: in it all conditionalness has disappeared, while the 'mood' remains by a sort of attraction. Surely the truth is touched by Mr. Waddell himself, when he says, 't reads ἐν ᾧ ἄν εἶη: possibly ἄν may have arisen from *ἐν*. *ἐν εἶη* is quite clear, and is one among many cases in which it is open to doubt whether *ἐν* or (as Heind. and Herm.) *ἐν-* should be used.' Thus we are pointed to the natural correction ἐν ᾧ ἐνείη, and, besides, the *ἄν* is fairly explained. For *ἐν εἶη* corr. *ἐνείη*, cf. 145 D *inf.* *ἐν ἔσται* corr. *ἐνεσται*, with Mr. Waddell's note.

P. 113. [ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτό γε] ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὃν καὶ ἑαυτὸ [εἶη περιέχον οὐκ ἄλλο ἢ αὐτὸ, εἰπερ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἶη] = 'But if it were self-contained, itself and no other would, we must conclude, form its own environment.' English order of words:—καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο ἢ αὐτὸ εἶη περιέχον ἑαυτό. Mr. Waddell's note on these words is strange: 't gives the text and it is on the whole better, *ἑαυτὸ being nom.*; unless we exactly reverse and read καὶ ἄν οὐκ ἄλλο ἢ αὐτὸ ἐ.,' i.e. taking the words as we have done. What Mr. Waddell means by 'reverse' we are not sure; is it = 'transpose the words'? but where is the need? The order of the Greek in t is quite natural. Of course his writing '*ἑαυτὸ being nom.*' must have been a mere momentary slip.

P. 158. οὐκοῦν ἔστι καὶ οὗτος χρόνος ὅτε μεταλαμβάνει τοῦ εἶναι κ.τ.λ.; 156 A. Stallbaum is, as Mr. Waddell says, in error in taking οὗτος here as subject, χρόνος as predicate. This would of course, if true, explain the omission of the article, but it is not true. The words must logically be taken together. The rule according to which the article is here omitted is, that when the noun with which οὗτος goes is immediately connected with a defining relative clause [such as that introduced here by ὅτε] the article is unnecessary and would, in fact, be somewhat pleonastic. Cf. Thuc. I. 85, ταύτας ἃς οἱ πατέρες παρέδωσαν μελέτας, which (except that μελέτας comes after its defining clause) is parallel to our sentence. But *exactly* parallel is Hdt. iv. 8. ἐς γῆν ταύτην . . . ἥντινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται. These and other instances are quoted by L. & S. In such cases the relative clause discharges the grammatical function of the article. [Distinguish such a case as οὐκοῦν οὗτός γέ ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος ὅτ' οὐκ ἦν ἄνθρωπος; *Μενο* xxi.]

P. 175. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μετέβαινεν ἐκ μείζονος εἰς ἕλαττον φαινόμενος, πρὶν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ δόξειν ἐλθεῖν. Well may Mr. Waddell express wonder that editors do not comment on πρὶν δόξειν ἐλθεῖν here. The future infin. is in fact unintelligible. Although τ gives δόξειεν, which is unexceptionable, Mr. Waddell does not at once accept it, but says—'one would then expect μεταβαίνοι, the whole sentence being = 'οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταβαίνοι . . . εἰ μὴ πρότερον . . . δόξειεν ἐλθεῖν.' 'It is worth asking' (he goes on) 'whether the original may not have been δόξαν, the part. balancing φαινόμενος, but agreeing with τὸ μεταξὺ = πρὶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ δόξαν.' This is ingenious, but quite needless. The objections to δόξειεν are extremely weak. Mr. Waddell cannot mean that μεταβαίνοι would (if we had δόξειεν) be rigorously necessary. Of course οὐ γὰρ ἂν μετέβαινεν . . . φαινόμενος would, quite as well as οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταβαίνοι φαινόμενος, express the unreality of the 'transition,' and

ποιν δόξειεν would correlate equally with either. Finally, it has δόξειεν. Why then excogitate δόξαν?

To do justice to the *Parmenides* from a philosophic point of view demands thorough familiarity with the everlasting principles of Idealism; but it equally demands the exercise of that analytical faculty which does not, indeed, frame theories, but which enables its possessor to examine their bases and structures, and is indispensable to philosophers and critics of philosophy. An editor of the *Parmenides* should be one who can duly appreciate not only the Logic of Hegel, but Formal Logic; not only the Logic of the functions of Reason, but the Logic of the methods of Reasoning; with a just conception of the relation that subsists between the two. This dialogue is almost unique in the varieties of philosophic interpretation through which it has passed. Proclus tells us that (according to the 'divine' Iamblichus, with whom he himself agrees) the *Parmenides* and *Timaeus* contain between them all that is good in Plato. But the ancient commentators differed as to the positive purpose of the *Parmenides*. Proclus (i. 21 *seqq.*) describes their different views. Some regarded it as merely a specimen of dialectical γυμνασία, without any ulterior dogmatic purpose, Proclus himself, as above stated, being of a different opinion. Ficinus, a 15th-century translator, says that 'while in the *Republic* and *Timaeus* Plato surpassed all others, in this dialogue he has surpassed himself. For while in the *Republic* he gave us a complete system of Moral Philosophy, and in the *Timaeus* a complete system of Natural Philosophy, in the *Parmenides* he has given us a complete system of Theology.' This was the prevailing view of our dialogue, the view which became stereotyped during those centuries in which free speculation had almost ceased. The moderns have differed even more sharply than the ancients about the work. To some (*e.g.* Hegel) it is pregnant with the soundest philosophic



truths, while to others, it seems, for the most part, a tissue of foolish subtleties which they 'cannot read with patience.' Others, again, have recurred to the old and intermediate view, opposed by Proclus, that its purpose (at least in Part ii.) is nothing more than to furnish a sample of that dialectical exercise which *Parmenides* declares Socrates to require, and of which Socrates thereupon dutifully asks *Parmenides* for a specimen.

The dialogue falls manifestly into two parts. The first consists, broadly speaking, of an attack by *Parmenides* on the theory of ideas propounded here by Socrates. The second contains (with or without occult ulterior meaning) the response to Socrates' request for a specimen of *γυμνασία* in Dialectic, such as *Parmenides* says is needful. The connexion between these two parts is, if we may judge from the amount of controversy it has provoked, extremely obscure. To investigate their relation in a review would serve no useful purpose, and we shall not attempt to do so. But in order to spare our readers the trouble of referring to the *Parmenides*, while enabling them to estimate the result of Mr. Waddell's investigation, we may state briefly the *momenta* of the Dialogue, Part I., the attack on Idealism.

Socrates elicits from Zeno that all the λόγοι of the latter are directed to show that οὐ πολλὰ ἔστι, for εἰ πολλὰ εἴη, πάσχοι ἂν τὰ ἀδύνατα; that is, they would be both ὁμοῖα and ἀνόμοια, &c.

'But, Zeno, (says Socrates) do you not think there is an εἶδος ὁμοιότητος αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ and another εἶδος of τὸ ἀνόμοιον; that some things partake of the one, others of the other; while some things, again, partake of both? And would not this—that some things partake of both εἶδη—explain what you declare above to be impossible, viz. that the same things should be at once ὁμοῖα and ἀνόμοια? I

<sup>1</sup> *Parm.* 135d. P. ἔλκυσον δὲ σεαυτὸν δὲ μή, σὲ διαφεύξεται ἢ ἀλήθεια. Σ. καὶ γύμνασαι μᾶλλον διὰ τῆς δοκούσης τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος, ὃ *Παρμενίδη*, τῆς ἀχρήστου εἶναι καὶ καλουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν γυμνασίας; P. οὗτος οὐκ ἐπερ ἤκουσας πολλῶν ἀδολεσχίας, ἕως ἔτι νενδς εἴ· εἰ Ζήνωνος.

(says Socrates) see nothing impossible or strange in this, but if αὐτὰ ὁμοῖα were at the same time ἀνόμοια, or αὐτὸ ἐν at the same time πολλά, this would indeed be a τέρας. For while τὰ μετέχοντα may possess the contrary attributes, τὰ εἶδη cannot do so.'

Parmenides asks, 'Have you, Socrates, made an absolute separation between εἶδη and τὰ μετέχοντα? Is there an ὁμοιότης χωρὶς ἧς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν?' 'Certainly,' Socrates replies. Socrates goes on to admit εἶδη of the Just, the Beautiful, the Good. About εἶδη of man, fire, water, he has doubts; εἶδη of θρίξ, πηλός, ῥύπος, he stoutly denies. Parmenides makes some observations here, which we omit. He takes the theory of ideas as propounded by Socrates, and, having scrutinized it, finds—

(a) That the μέθεξις is unintelligible, consistently with the unity and integrity of the ideas.

(b) That the idea being obtained by generalization from the πολλά as the unity necessary for their comprehension, if it is hypostatised χωρὶς τῶν πολλῶν, a higher unity will be needed to comprehend them and it, and so on *ad infin.*, so that one supreme idea is only a chimæra [the τρίτος ἄνθρωπος argument].

(c) That if (as Socrates at this stage suggests) each εἶδος is but a νόημα, existing only ἐν ψυχᾷς, still this is a νόημα of something, which again will turn out to be the aforesaid εἶδος; while if (as alleged) the πολλά participate in the εἶδος, and this is a νόημα [or 'thought'], each particular thing must be made of νοήματα, and it would be necessary that all particulars should 'think' (νοεῖν), or that, though being thoughts, they should not 'think.'

(d) Perhaps, says Socrates, forced again to alter his ground, 'the εἶδη are παραδείγματα, or models fixed in Nature, and the "participation" of the πολλά in them only means, that the πολλά resemble them.' 'But then,' replies Parmenides, 'they, too, must resemble the πολλά, and both πολλά and εἶδη must derive their mutual likeness from some unity higher than either, which will be the true εἶδος, and so on *ad infin.* [τρίτος ἄνθρωπος again].'

(e) Finally (Parmenides goes on to say), these εἶδη of yours which exist χωρὶς are absolutely precluded from being known by us; and, what is more strange, the gods, if (as we must suppose) they are possessed of the knowledge of εἶδη, must be cut off from all knowledge of human affairs.

Socrates is represented as quite unable to defend his theory of εἶδη against these objections. Parmenides, for his part, does not answer them, but asks—'without εἶδη (which, however, seem thus abolished) what is to become of philosophy?' Socrates cannot tell. Whereupon Parmenides gravely reproves him for having attempted philosophy without previous training in dialectic.

Here, then, we have Socrates disconsolate over the ruins of his ideal theory, and Parmenides sympathetic, but unable to give him any direct assistance; and the following questions arise: Is the Ideal theory thus overthrown Plato's own theory; and, if not, What relation does it bear to Plato's? Again, if Parmenides here gives Socrates no *direct* assistance towards the re-instatement of Ideas, does he render him any *indirect* assistance; and if so, what is its nature?

The plan of a review debars us from attempting to answer these questions independently. The first is answered by Mr. Grote in the affirmative. His reasons need not be mentioned, as they are almost self-evident. But others have answered this question negatively. For example, Dr. Maguire, in his valuable edition of the *Parmenides* (with which Mr. Waddell seems to have been unacquainted), says:—'All the objections which are urged in the *Parmenides* are based on an assumption with which the sound doctrine of Ideas has nothing to do.'

The question as to the relation between the theory here assailed and that approved by the mature judgment of Plato is taken up by Dr. Jackson, and dealt with in a series of essays published in the *Journal of Philology*, essays which are extremely valuable to a student of Plato. He concludes that in the *Parmenides* Plato breaks with an older, and lays the foundation of a newer, theory of ideas, the older with which he breaks, being that traditionally associated with his name.

Mr. Waddell holds with Dr. Jackson that the *Par-*

*menides* marks a time when Plato came to feel dissatisfied with the basis of his ideal theory, and wished to render it more secure. 'Plato (our editor says) is now discovering not only that 'universal definitions' 'on the ethical virtues' must have a metaphysical basis, but that such a basis cannot be constructed at haphazard, or by taking up any question that chance may suggest, as Socrates had been accustomed to do. This is a point upon which Parmenides—so Plato was beginning to find—might act legitimately as a Mentor to Socrates. 'What is the Just?' may be a most instructive inquiry; but if the answer is to be satisfactory, 'What is Being?' must precede and support it. There seems no reason to contend that Plato is discarding the reasoning used in the inquiries of Socrates on moral questions as fallacious in its own sphere, or as ill-conducted within its presuppositions. Rather he is feeling that those inquiries had been detached, fortuitous, wanting in system, without a secure foundation; feeling also, it would appear, that his own previous gropings in the metaphysical region had been open to the same objection, and that these defects can be removed only by making a fresh and better advised beginning. That he now proceeds to attempt. The base idea he gets from Parmenides: the method of testing his inferences from Zeno'.

With regard to the question as to the relation between the two parts of the dialogue, Mr. Waddell says: 'If we are to assume with Grote that the remainder of the dialogue is simply what it affects to be—an example namely of the mental discipline which Parmenides deems indispensable to the philosopher—then its relation to the earlier portion is determined at once beyond the need of argument. But in pressing his view with grave persistency, Grote seems rather to manifest a want of tact. Not only does he miss the literary *finesse* of the composition; he even raises, in

a gratuitous manner, the question "si un Grec peut avoir de l'esprit." What Plato seeks is to reach his real end by apparently accidental steps, to guide the listener to a pre-determined issue, while seeming to let him wander at his will.' 'Certainly the second part is an exercise in dialectical inquiry. . . . But everyone must feel that if it be this, it is likewise something more. . . . We might make the connection [with pt. i.] complete by assuming that the remainder of the work is a practical exemplification of the method according to which the ideal is to be brought into connection with the sensible sphere.' 'One and Many demand each other as poles or sides of a single complex conception, reminding us of the Unity, Plurality, Totality, which we find in Kant. This surely would complete the connection of parts in a degree satisfactory to the most exacting. . . . But while a tempting, it is a questionable, theory. In the first place it supplies, as a substitute for Platonic μέθξις, a conception which is so modern as to be suspicious upon that ground alone.' But we must refer our readers to Mr. Waddell's own work for the remainder of his remarks as to the connexion between the parts of the dialogue.

With regard to the bearing, positive and negative, of part ii. on Plato's Ideal Theory, Mr. Waddell has some excellent pages in which he discusses the views of Jackson and Zeller. He disputes Dr. Jackson's view that the One of the dialogue is an Idea: and herein he agrees with Dr. Maguire. When Zeller urges that 'these objections [in the *Parmenides*, pt. i. and elsewhere] to the doctrine of ideas would not have been suggested by Plato had he not been convinced that his theory was unaffected by them,' Mr. Waddell replies: 'Is it the case that every thinker, even every great thinker, is fully provided with a reply to all objectors? He is not driven from his position by objections: he feels, it may be, a conviction which objectors fail

to shake. But he may be sensible that he has not met the objections nevertheless. Galileo was a very great man; yet when he was questioned about the fact that water would not rise in a pump above thirty feet, and reference was made to the doctrine that "nature abhors a vacuum," he could but say, half in jest, that nature seemed to abhor only a thirty-foot vacuum. It was left for Torricelli to throw light upon the mystery.'

Whatever be Plato's ulterior purpose in this second division of the *Parmenides*, he has not himself revealed it, but, if there be any, he has left it to be inferred or conjectured by his readers. And they, as was to be expected, have inferred or conjectured it according to their own prepossessions. It is hard to suppose this various and contradictory mode of interpreting his work to have been desired by a writer who had any definite didactic purpose. If his intention was to stimulate speculation, or to illustrate the Zenonian dialectic of which he has here given a specimen, or to entertain his readers with a display of the antilogistic subtlety which was as delightful to the ingenious Athenians as the society novel is to modern readers, then indeed we could understand how the means he has chosen contribute to the end proposed: and there is nothing to debar us from believing that the above three objects were all together present to his mind. But in the absence of determinate information from the author as to the purpose of the second part of the dialogue [except indeed that it is a *γυμνασία*, which he tells us clearly enough], and in the presence of the endless controversies about it, any theory that we may form as to such purpose must be more or less arbitrary. Let us therefore turn from the question as to what ulterior aims are discernible in this dialectical exercise, and contemplate for a moment the methods of argumentation which it employs.

*Parmenides* has recommended Socrates not only to

examine the logical consequences of any hypothesis he may set up, but also to examine those of its contradictory: thus only can he arrive at the truth about it. He illustrates (by request) the way in which this should be done, and he chooses for examination the hypothesis *εἰ ἓν ἔστι*. According to the method prescribed four questions have to be settled before logical analysis has done justice to this hypothesis.

- I. If One (or *the* One) is, what follows in regard to itself?
- II. If One (or *the* One) is, what follows in regard to *ἄλλα*?
- III. If One (or *the* One) is *not*, what follows in regard to itself?
- IV. If One (or *the* One) is *not*, what follows in regard to *ἄλλα*?

Each of these hypotheses is made to give rise to an antinomy, by leading to contradictory conclusions. The way in which this is brought about deserves attention.

I. (a) If One is [here equivalent to if One is *One*]: it cannot be many; ∴ it cannot be a whole having parts ∴ it has neither *ἀρχή* nor *τέλος* ∴ it is *ἄπειρον*: it is *οὐδαμοῦ*: it is *οὔδ' ἐν χρόνῳ τὸ πάραπαν*: it is neither limited nor unlimited. These and other negative propositions are deduced respecting the One, and this by pressing the proposition in its identical form, if one is *one*.

I. (b) But if one is [here equivalent to if one exists]; it must have *οὐσία*, which is different from the One—its attribute, not itself; which implies that the one has parts [*τὸ ἓν ὄν* being a *δλον*, whose parts are *τὸ ἓν* and *τὸ εἶναι*], and is many. Hereupon are deduced a series of propositions which doubly contradict those of I. (a). While the former assert that the one 'is neither — nor —,' the latter assert that it is 'both — and —.'

It is apparent that this antinomy, so far as it involves a process of legitimate inference, arises from the dual

meaning of the words forming the hypothesis: there are virtually two different hypotheses. But the difference is not avowed by Plato, and scarcely presented itself clearly to his mind: for even in I. (a) [where he reasons on the hypothesis if one is *one*] he leans for some of his inferences on hyp. I. (b), *e.g.* in the words [141 E] οὐδ' ἄρα οὕτως ἐστὶν ὥστε ἐν εἶναι, ἣν γὰρ ἄν ἤδη ὄν καὶ οὐσίας μετέχον: which involve the postulate that 'whatever is —, IS.'

This postulate is openly made in I. (b), and εἶναι, the copula, is studiously, or naively, confounded with εἶναι, the substantive verb. Further, existence is declared to be an attribute which may or may not belong to a subject; and the subject *which does not exist* may be a subject of knowledge and predication equally with that which does exist.

In I. (b) we find also the One which opens the numerical scale confounded with the One which forms the subject of the dialogue—the metaphysical One; εἰ ἄρα ἐστὶν ἐν, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀριθμὸν εἶναι. The One of arithmetic must be correlated with and imply two, three, and the rest of the numerical series apart from which it has no meaning; but to make the metaphysical One imply number, and therefore πολλὰ ὄντα, is to beg the question [against, *e.g.* Zeno]. This confusion appears more than once in the *Parmenides*.

In the course of I. (b), in proving that τὸ ὅλον—τὸ ἐν ὄν—οὐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ, Parmenides reasons in these terms:—'The whole is not in its parts either all or some. For if it is in all, then it must be in one; for if there were one in which it was not, it could not be in all, &c.' [For the Hegelian justification of this reasoning, *vide* Maguire, *ad loc.*]

So far, however, is Plato from *intending* to slight the principle of contradiction in these antinomies, that he makes (or supposes himself to make) his deductions at every step by its aid; and his third demonstration (which stands outside the antinomies) is of the nature of a conciliation between the opposing assertions, showing how



both may be true *at different times*, and assuming that they cannot be true simultaneously.

There is no need to trace the course of Parmenides' arguments through all the phases of the hypotheses *εἰ ἐν ἔστι*—*εἰ μὴ ἐν ἔστι*. The paradoxical conclusions are obtained by paralogisms such as the above—devices patently sophistical, if deliberately adopted. But it is unlikely that Plato played the sophist here. We may, however, give one more specimen of Parmenides' mode of argumentation. In *Antin.* III. (a), *εἰ μὴ ἔστι τὸ ἐν, τί χρη συμβαίνειν*; [161 E] where Parmenides tries to prove that *τὸ ἐν μὴ ὄν οὐσίας* *πη μετέχει*, he goes on: 'It has *οὐσία*, for it must *be as we say*' [when we assert anything of it; and we may assert many intelligible predicates of it: in short, any except *τὸ εἶναι*]: 'for if not, we should not speak truth respecting it in saying that it is-not; while if we do speak truth, we apply to it predicates that really *are* [*ὄντα αὐτὰ λέγομεν*]. Hence the one, when it is-not, IS. For if it shall not *be μὴ ὄν*, but shall abate one jot of its *being* [*μὴ ὄν*] in favour of its *not-being* [*μὴ ὄν*]; presently [since whatever is not *μὴ ὄν* must be *ὄν*] it will from *μὴ ὄν* transform itself into *ὄν* [*i.e.* if instead of being (*logically*) *μὴ ὄν* it shall (*logically*) not-be *μὴ ὄν*; we may assert it to have passed from *metaphysical* non-being into *metaphysical* being]. Hence, if it is to not-be, it must have being [the copula] as a bond coupling it with not-being.' This reasoning confounds the logical function of predication with the metaphysical assertion of existence: confounds *ἐστὶ* with *ἔστι*. The way for the fallacy is paved by Parmenides, when he urges a little before that the subject of a proposition may be equally knowable or intelligible whether its predicate be *εἶναι* or *μὴ εἶναι*. We quote the words as given in the Clarke MS.: *πρῶτον μὲν ἄρα γνωστόν τι λέγει, ἔπειτα ἕτερον τῶν ἄλλων ὅτ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν, εἴτε τὸ εἶναι αὐτῷ προσθεῖς εἴτε τὸ μὴ εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι διάφορον τῶν ἄλλων*. Our concep-

tion of a chimæra enables us to make this the subject of a proposition, the copula of which again would justify us in hypostatizing our chimæra. Thus knowledge is extended by imagination; and all that we can talk of exists somehow—*μετέχει οὐσίας πη.*

Some appear to think that it is a privilege of lofty metaphysics to relax the stringency of the principle of contradiction, if not to dispense with it altogether: and that in 'divine philosophy,' though not in mere logic, a great deal of truth—if not of formal correctness—may lie in the *ἔστι* = *ἔστι* of which we have been just speaking. A system of thought has been produced in the present century whose conspicuous purpose has been to show that the limitations of Understanding and its logic do not attach to Reason. Nature and the Idea alike exclude contradiction. In the Idea, indeed—to which philosophy would fain elevate the individual but cannot—the Many and the One are reconciled, and Change is no longer a mystery. But *the* Idea is not *my* idea or *yours*. The Universal is not the particular fleeting individual. Similarly, though Nature and the Idea are free from the limitations imposed on our understanding, or felt by us as change and decay: *we* individually are bound by these: bound in our reasonings [arguments] by the laws of formal Logic, as we are limited in our movements by the laws of physical energy. While, accordingly, we may forgive—and even admire—the Idea (which we are not asked to understand) for non-submission to formal Logic, we can derive from it no warrant for lax, inconsistent, illogical argumentation on our own part. All deductive reasoning is as completely dominated by the law of contradiction as though the Eleatics, Plato, Spinoza, and Hegel had never lived or written. And if we discovered Hegel trying to convince us by illogical reasoning, we should treat him as Socrates in the Republic would treat the dramatic poet:

'regarding him as a holy and marvellous being, crowning him with wool and anointing his head with myrrh,' we should send him away from us as an untrustworthy teacher. When Hegel aims at the establishment of an Idea wherein determination and negation alike disappear, and in which all contradiction cancels itself out, his procedure is highly philosophical: but his reasonings are at every step conducted with uniform and rigorous regard to formal logic. If it were not so; if we could detect a logical flaw in the links by which our teacher strove to bind our convictions to his conclusion, his hold over us would at once cease, or be greatly weakened. The metaphysician whom we reverence must have won us by his logic. Does Plato's logic seem to warrant our trust in the metaphysical conclusions (if any) to which he would guide us? And if Parmenides, part ii., be only a dialectical *γυμνασία*, was Plato himself deceived by the fallacies which it contains, or does he deliberately blend paralogistic with logical reasoning in order to give his readers the wholesome exercise of disentangling the knots which he has tied? We much fear he was himself the victim of his own paralogisms.

Again, however true it is that all reality resolves itself into Thought, yet that existential propositions are synthetic, that Being is not a predicate which can be analysed from our logical conception of a particular subject, is one of the greatest lessons taught by Kant, and one which ought never to be forgotten. It has rendered obsolete many a cherished demonstration, among the rest some of those principally dwelt on in the Parmenides; but it is a lesson not yet sufficiently learned by philosophers. We will conclude by quoting a passage in illustration of this.

Mr. Herbert Spencer (in the course of his argument for the existence of the Absolute or Unknowable, *First Principles*, pp. 90-91) says:—'We are conscious of the Relative

as existence under conditions and limits: it is impossible that these conditions and limits can be thought of apart from something to which they give the form; the abstraction of these conditions and limits is, by the hypothesis, the abstraction of them only; consequently there must be a residuary consciousness of something which filled up their outlines; and this indefinite something constitutes our consciousness of the non-relative or Absolute. . . . 'If in such cases the negative contradictory were *nothing else* than the negation of the other, and therefore a mere non-entity, then it would clearly follow that negative contradictories could be used interchangeably. The Unlimited might be thought of as antithetical to the Divisible, and the Indivisible as antithetical to the Limited. *The fact that they cannot be so used proves that, in consciousness, the Unlimited and the Indivisible are qualitatively distinct, and therefore positive or real, since distinction cannot exist between nothings.*' By an argument in principle exactly like this [i.e. by arguing from logical conception to ontological, in other words, from *εἶναι* to *ἔστιν*], Plato, as we have seen, proves that *τὸ μὴ ὄν μετέχει πῃ οὐσίας*. Scarcely anything more curious presents itself in the literature of modern philosophy than this unconscious return of Mr. Spencer to the methods of the Parmenidean dialectic. But was Plato, before the dawn of critical philosophy, safe from a trap into which Mr. Spencer has fallen?

JOHN I. BEARE.

JOWETT AND CAMPBELL'S *REPUBLIC OF*  
*PLATO.*

THIS edition has been received with deserved welcome by all students of Plato. It is, of course, the best of those hitherto published in England, and will perhaps long continue to be the best. In short, the work is what was to be expected from such scholars as the late Master of Balliol and Professor Campbell. Still it is not without defects, of which the first to be noticed flows from the fact of divided editorship. There are many points of minor, with some of larger, importance, on which the co-editors differ, and it is not always easy (at least we have not found it so) to distinguish in the notes whose words one is reading—whether those of Mr. Jowett or those of Mr. Campbell. But when two notes are found side by side directly opposed on some point, one signed [B. J.], the other [L. C.], the trustful student cannot help yearning for some strong and independent judgment to guide him out of this conflict of opinions. Our editors seem disposed to hold alternative views in an extraordinary number of cases. This may do credit to their candour, but it leaves to the reader the burden of making up his own mind. Whether readers, young or old, like to have such a burden imposed on them is a question which each will answer for himself.

On the capital subject of the value of conjectural emendation in connexion with the advanced study of classics Jowett and Campbell differ, and the difference seems

altogether in favour of the latter, whose views are much sounder and more liberal than those of his co-editor. Mr. Campbell's essays on the structure of the *Republic* and its relation to Plato's other dialogues; on the text, with appendices, giving a collation of the text with Paris A; his exhaustive and minute account of the peculiarities of Plato's diction—are such as will be read with profit and gratitude. But Mr. Jowett's introductory essay, from its leading position, and from the eloquence and incisiveness of its style, forms, unfortunately, the most conspicuous feature in this book, and the one which will do, and has done, most to determine its character among advanced scholars.

Mr. Jowett professes to argue against the 'indiscriminate use of conjectural emendation,' but, while it is difficult to gainsay his attack upon it *quod* indiscriminate, it is not easy to justify or explain the heat with which he writes. He seems to have conjured up some evil phantom, against which he lets loose all his indignation. He thinks of 'indiscriminate emendators' as a band of hardy conspirators, plotting a reconstruction of our classical texts according to their own fanciful notions, ready at any cost to procure adoption for their conjectures, 'flushed with over-learning' and pride of ingenuity, contemptuous of MSS.; men whom, indeed, it would be scarcely safe to make custodians of our manuscript rooms. Nothing but some fearful apprehension based on a dream of this kind would seem to explain Mr. Jowett's *animus* against conjectural emendation. But what sane critic ever undervalued, or can undervalue, MSS.? These are, as all know, the perpetual starting-point, the mother earth, from which our classical knowledge springs, and to which criticism must ever return for fresh strength and inspiration. That some critics, like some men in general, are capable of any folly is true; but is Mr. Jowett here arguing

against human weakness? His purpose is to assail 'indiscriminate emendation,' but in doing this he assails conjectural emendation generally. His argument exceeds his purpose, and he includes within the range of his attack some of the very greatest names in classical philology. Against the conjectural emendation of sciolists and smatterers Mr. Jowett's argument is sound enough; but it seems lacking in practical point. What scholar needs to be told that 'indiscriminate' criticism is absurd? On the other hand, what sciolist and smatterer was ever effectually put down by argument?

That errors are committed by all, even the very greatest, writers; that the stimulus given to conjectural emendation by distinguished scholars, who have employed it with success, may cause the habit of it to spread beyond due bounds, so that an instinctive impulse to change every Greek or Latin word into some other Greek or Latin word may occasionally seize upon neurotic graduates or scholars in a state of arrested development; that time and pains are in this way wasted, and that now and again an editor, whose judgment is not equal to his self-confidence, printing his own conjecture, disfigures some classical text, and furnishes other editors with a handle for criticizing him: all this is most true. But it does not justify Mr. Jowett's conclusion, that conjectural emendation should be altogether discountenanced. If (apart from weakness of individual character and incompetent scholarship, of which we need say nothing more) time which might otherwise have been profitably bestowed is wasted in conjectural emendation: we reply, that the cause of the higher classical studies can be advanced only on the terms on which every literary and scientific interest is promoted, viz. at the risk of much error, in the hope of winning some truth. Whether the time said to have been wasted is always wasted—whether it might really have

been better spent—who knows? Self-improvement is not effected solely by success; failure in some lines of effort may be better than success in others. With regard to Mr. Jowett’s special ground of alarm—the invasion of the texts by uncertified emendations—on this subject we may have easy minds. A conjectural emendation must, before securing a permanent place in the texts, pass through a fiery ordeal; which if it escape unscathed it may well be deemed worthy of acceptance. A false emendation *cannot* long escape. Critics are excellent judges of one another’s weaknesses, and the world is so constituted, that almost equal *éclat* attends the demolition of another’s conjecture and the establishment of one’s own. Thus critics check critics. As long as this is so, and as long as the MSS. are in our libraries, ready to be consulted, no one need fear permanent mischief to our texts at the hands of any scholar eminent or obscure.

With regard to Mr. Jowett’s assertion, that the most ingenious conjecture can never attain the certainty of a reading well supported by manuscript authority, there are several conjectural emendations admitted by Mr. Campbell into his text, which sufficiently prove the contrary. A list of these is given in vol. ii., pp. 114–5; but we may single out Schneider’s *ἐρίμα μάλιστα* for *ἐτι μάλιστα*, viii. 554 B.

Genuine critical activity—such as that of Bentley, Porson, Hermann, and Cobet, whom Mr. Jowett treats with scant courtesy—whether shown in conjectural emendation or otherwise, is the fruit and proof of the highest scholarship. It has in hundreds of cases restored the original, and rendered texts intelligible which, in the MSS., are without construction or meaning. It is vain to endeavour to revive that veneration for the *litera scripta* which characterized mediæval times, and almost reached the level of superstition. The scribes were, many of them, learned



men, possessed of rare calligraphic skill, wonderful accuracy, and fidelity to their duty as copyists. But they were fallible. We must take a broad view of MSS. We must reflect upon the ways in which they were produced and propagated. While acknowledging that in them lies for us the last visible link in the evidence of what an author wrote, we must, in the light of wider knowledge, test, and at times correct, them. Here, as in other subjects, the maxim holds, that he who knows but one thing cannot know that one thing well.

If we confined ourselves to the MS. alone we should revolutionize much of our knowledge. And, indeed, Mr. Jowett, the champion of analogy in regard to MSS., would seem inclined to defend anomaly in other respects, *e.g.* in grammar and prosody. 'What do we know,' he would ask, 'of the constructions used by writers antecedent to the formulation of grammatical rules? And when we see so many words (*e.g.*  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ ) with varying quantities, how can we be sure that many others (*e.g.*  $\nu\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ) are not like them in this respect?' If this mode of arguing were generally admissible, all criticism would disappear, or be paralysed. We could no longer say of any construction—any metrical phenomenon—that it is impossible, and not to be attributed to a classical writer. We are not prepared to place such implicit trust in the MS. tradition as would upset all our canons of criticism.

The conjectural emendation of a competent scholar is not what Mr. Jowett calls it, 'a kind of prophecy,' in which one man has no better chance of being right than another. It is a mode of inference: often subtle, no doubt, and unintelligible to those who cannot follow its movements; the work of trained feeling and therefore to some extent logically inexplicable, like many of the most trustworthy inferences that we make in practical life. The true critic's guess is no *mere* guess, as those who wish to carp would repre-

sent it: it is such as could be made only by one who is completely disciplined in the language, and imbued with the spirit, of his author. All emendations are not, of course, of equal value, nor can we regard them all with equal certitude; but there are many which exhibit the character of genuine inductions; many, too, which have been *proved*, in Mr. Jowett's sense, by the subsequent discovery of the MS. evidence requisite for their verification. 'Prophecy,' whatever it may be, is not inductive inference; and indeed it is a term which would be more appropriately used of predicting what an author *will write* than of determining what an author *has written*.

JOHN I. BEARE.

## NOTE ON KANT.

**I** DO not think it is as generally known as it deserves to be that the fundamental thought of Kant's celebrated argument for immortality as a Postulate of Practical Reason is to be found in the *Spectator*, No. 111, July 7th, 1711. The whole Paper should be read, but I extract the following passage, commending the last paragraph especially to the reader's attention. Dr. Abbott says that Kant was fond of Addison's hymn, 'The Spacious Firmament,' &c. ; and perhaps he had read the *Spectator* referred to. Of course Kant was far too great a man to be a plagiarist ; but, possibly, ideas derived from this Paper unconsciously produced their effect in his mind, and helped him insensibly to his theory of immortality as condition of the necessary but asymptotic approach of the individual to Holiness :—

' But among these, and other excellent arguments for the immortality of the soul, there is one drawn from the perpetual progress of the soul to its perfection, without a possibility of ever arriving at it ; which is a hint that I do not remember to have seen opened and improved by others, who have written on this subject, though it seems to me to carry a very great weight with it. How can it enter into the thoughts of man, that the soul, which is capable of such immense perfections, and of receiving new improvements, to all eternity, shall fall away into nothing, almost as soon as it is created ? Are such abilities made for no purpose ? A brute arrives at a point of perfection he can never pass : in a few years he has all the endowments he is capable of ; and were he to live

ten thousand more, would be the same thing he is at present. Were a human soul thus at a stand in her accomplishments ; were her faculties to be full blown, and incapable of farther enlargements ; I could imagine she might fall away insensibly, and drop at once into a state of annihilation. But can we believe a thinking being, that is in a perpetual progress of improvements, and travelling on from perfection to perfection, after having just looked abroad into the works of her Creator, and made a few discoveries of his infinite goodness, wisdom, and power, must perish at her first setting out, and in the very beginning of her inquiries ?

‘ Man, considered only in his present state, seems sent into the world merely to propagate his kind. He provides himself with a successor ; and immediately quits his post to make room for him. He does not seem born to enjoy life, but to deliver it down to others. This is not surprising to consider in animals, which are formed for our use, and can finish their business in a short life. The silk-worm, after having spun her task, lays her eggs and dies. But a man cannot take in his full measure of knowledge, has not time to subdue his passions, establish his soul in virtue, and come up to the perfection of his nature, before he is hurried off the stage. Would an infinitely wise Being make such glorious creatures for so mean a purpose ? Can He delight in the production of such abortive intelligences, such short-lived reasonable beings ? Would He give us talents that are not to be exerted ? capacities that are never to be gratified ? How can we find that wisdom which shines through all His works, in the formation of man, without looking on this world as only a nursery for the next ; and without believing that the several generations of rational creatures, which rise up and disappear in such quick successions, are only to receive their first rudiments of existence here, and afterwards to be transplanted into a more friendly climate, where they may spread and flourish to all eternity ?

‘ There is not, in my opinion, amore pleasing and triumphant consideration in religion, than this of the perpetual progress, which the soul makes towards the perfection of its nature, without ever arriving at a period in it. To look upon the soul as going on from strength to strength ; to consider that she is to shine for ever

with new accessions of glory, and brighten to all eternity ; that she will be still adding virtue to virtue, and knowledge to knowledge ; carries in it something wonderfully agreeable to that ambition, which is natural to the mind of man. Nay, it must be a prospect pleasing to God Himself, to see His creation for ever beautifying in His eyes ; and drawing nearer to Him, by greater degrees of resemblance.

‘ Methinks this single consideration, of the progress of a finite spirit to perfection, will be sufficient to extinguish all envy in inferior natures, and all contempt in superior. That cherub, which now appears as a god to a human soul, knows very well, that the period will come about in eternity, when the human soul shall be as perfect as He Himself now is : nay, when she shall look down upon that degree of perfection as much as she now falls short of it. It is true, the higher nature still advances, and by that means preserves his distance and superiority in the scale of being ; but he knows that, how high soever the station is of which he stands possessed at present, the inferior nature will at length mount up to it ; and shine forth in the same degree of glory.

‘ With what astonishment and veneration, may we look into our own souls, where there are such hidden stores of virtue and knowledge, such inexhaustible sources of perfection ? We know not yet what we shall be ; nor will it ever enter into the heart of man, to conceive the glory that will be always in reserve for him. *The soul, considered with its Creator, is like one of those mathematical lines, that may draw nearer to another for all eternity, without a possibility of touching it :* and can there be a thought so transporting, as to consider ourselves in these perpetual approaches to HIM, who is the standard not only of perfection, but of happiness ! ’

JOHN I. BEARE.

BLASS'S COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS.<sup>1</sup>

**B**IBLICAL students had every reason to welcome the announcement of an edition of a New Testament book by an eminent classical scholar who makes no profession of being a theologian. When an amateur intrudes into a province which experts have appropriated, he runs the risk that supposed discoveries of his may turn out to have been anticipated, or what is worse, to have been put forward before and found to be worthless; but, on the other hand, it is possible that his fresh gaze may detect some things which eyes dulled by familiarity had failed to notice. In a review of this book of Blass's, Nestle lately called to mind Goethe's remark how much the knowledge of particular subjects has been indebted to the contributions of intelligent amateurs, a remark called forth by the fact that modern Old Testament criticism has all sprung from the suggestion made by Astruc, who was no theologian, but a physician, that the use of different names for God in different sections of the Book of Genesis indicated the employment of different sources for the narrative. Scripture commentaries certainly have a tendency to run into grooves, one commentator so utilizing what has been said by another, that, wearied by the monotony, we exclaim, 'taedet quotidianarum harum formarum'; for a more beautiful face is not so attractive as one that

<sup>1</sup> Acta Apostolorum, sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter. Editio Philologica, apparatu critico, commentario perpetuo, indice verborum illustrata, auctore Friderico Blass. Göttingen, 1894, pp. x., 334.

possesses the charm of greater originality of expression. In the present case the independence and freshness of Blass's treatment would make ample atonement for more errors than anyone can lay to his charge; and since the appearance of Lightfoot's commentaries, I have not met an edition of a New Testament book which kept the attention so well alive, and the study of which was so completely a pleasure.

It would, however, be an abuse of language to speak of Blass as an amateur in respect of the work which he has undertaken, for surely nothing could be more completely within his province than the editing of a historical book written in Greek. It is true that he emphatically disclaims all pretensions to be a theologian, and declares that on this account he would shrink from undertaking the interpretation of most of the other New Testament books. But in this Book of the Acts, as he observes, the questions with which theologians are specially conversant are not prominent, so that in the interpretation the philologist has the primary, the theologian the secondary place. Accordingly he warns his readers on his title-page that his professes to be no more than a philological edition, and certainly I cannot but admire the thoroughness with which he has executed the task he set himself. Blass is vigilant in pointing out the differences between Attic and what has been called Hellenistic Greek. Both the vocabulary and the grammatical constructions have been carefully examined, and compared with the usage, both of classical and of other New Testament writers; and in some cases new interpretations have been suggested which deserve consideration. I count it now a crime to publish a book without a sufficient index; but in this matter Blass has done his duty so well as not only to escape censure, but deserve high commendation. There is both an index enabling the reader easily to refer to

every point brought forward in the commentary, and an index to the vocabulary of the Acts itself, in which are distinguished by special marks—(1) words which occur in the Acts, but not in other N. T. books; (2) those which occur in the Acts and in Luke's Gospel, but not in other N. T. books; (3) those which occur in the Acts and in other N. T. books, but not in the Gospel. The result is, that out of 1847 words in all, exclusive of proper names, he counts 440 in the first class, 56 in the second, 414 in the third.

The editor of a Greek book finds it necessary to decide a number of questions concerning orthography, punctuation, &c., as, for example, whether the name Marcus ought properly to be represented in Greek as *Μάρκος* or *Μάρκος*. Disappointed as I have been in my expectation that this review would have been entrusted to more competent hands, I decline to discuss any questions which do not affect the translation, both because such questions have less interest for me, and because I am less qualified to pronounce a judgment on them. But some of Blass's grammatical discussions belong to an intermediate class, sometimes affecting the translation, sometimes not. Blass has given particular attention to Luke's use of tenses, and for instance, has an explanation to give every time that we find an imperfect used, and not an aorist. Now, the translators of the Authorized Version took but little notice of the use of the imperfect tense, and, accordingly, have several times been corrected in the Revised Version, which, for example, altered 'their nets brake' (Luke v. 6) into 'their nets were breaking,' and made other similar changes. But Blass has showed that a preference for the imperfect tense is quite a feature in Luke's style, and occurs many times where the genius of the English language will not allow it to be represented in translation. Blass is almost always able to give some good reason to



justify Luke's choice, and if I have sometimes thought his explanations over-subtle, and such as would have astonished Luke himself, it must be remembered that a native will often instinctively employ certain shades of expression without having any knowledge of the arguments by which a skilled grammarian would account for them. I generally find myself well able to acquiesce in Blass's explanations. Thus, Acts vi. 7, Authorized and Revised Versions agree in rendering 'a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith'; but as what is intended is not that a number of priests were simultaneously converted, but that a succession of priests, one after another, accepted the faith, we have the imperfect tense; and so likewise in Acts xviii. 8, 'many of the Corinthians believed and were baptized.' Examples of the imperfect to denote a continuous process, and the aorist its termination, are—xxi. 3, ἐπλέομεν εἰς Συρίαν καὶ κατήλθομεν εἰς Τύρον: xxi. 20, ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν, εἰπάν τε: xix. 19, τὰς βίβλους κατέκαιον καὶ συνεψήφισαν τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν, the idea being that books were brought, one after another, to be burnt, and at the end their total value estimated. I own I was at first inclined to smile at Blass's explanation of the imperfect tense used with reference to the impotent man who *asked* for alms at the beautiful gate of the temple: he says that the act of asking is always imperfect until the request is granted: and in like manner, with reference to the Apostles asking our Lord whether he would at this time restore the kingdom to Israel, he says that the act of questioning is always imperfect until an answer is given. But I had to own that Blass correctly describes the practice of beggars, and I think it likely that the impotent man, instead of being content with a single statement of his needs, continued his clamorous representations until the Apostles took notice of him. In like manner, if the statement had been that Peter had put a question to our

Lord, I dare say the aorist would have been used; but as the plural number is used, the imperfect tense may indicate that the same question was put by one after another. Still I cannot say that Blass has quite convinced me as to the distinctions he makes between the use of *πορεύουν* and *πορεύθητι*, *μένειν* and *μείναι*, &c.; and I find that, as he approaches the end of his commentary, he becomes more willing to own that Luke did not carry out his principles with rigorous uniformity. I shall have a word to say presently as to Blass's treatment of his text, and I cannot approve of his keeping his author grammatically straight by altering *ἔσυρον* (Acts xiv. 19) into *ἔσυραν*, in defiance of the MS. evidence. I should rather have expected him to say that the process of dragging was necessarily imperfect until Paul had been got completely out of the city. But I should be sorry if, through any lightness of tone, I should be deemed ungrateful for the instruction which the minuteness of Blass's careful examination has given me in a multitude of cases whereof want of space forbids me here to give examples. I content myself with quoting one grammatical remark, which, to me at least, was new, but which, I think, he has proved to be well founded. We are told (Acts xvi. 3) that Paul circumcised Timothy because all knew that his father was a Greek (*ὅτι Ἑλλήν ὑπῆρχεν*). Blass's note is '*ὑπῆρχεν fuerat: si vivus pater fuisset ὑπάρχει exstaret.*' He points out that in dependent clauses, where English usage would employ a past tense and a pluperfect, New Testament usage employs a present and an imperfect. A typical example is (Acts iv. 13), 'perceived that they *were* unlearned and ignorant men; and took knowledge of them that they *had been* with Jesus'; *ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν, ὅτι σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἦσαν*. Other examples are, on the one hand, 'that Archelaus *was* reigning' (Matt. ii. 22), *ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει*: 'that Jesus *was* passing by' (Matt. xx. 30), *ὅτι Ἰησοῦς παράγει*: 'heard

that Jesus *was* come' (John iv. 47), ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἦκει. On the other hand, 'that John had been a prophet' (Mark xi. 32), ὅτι προφήτης ἦν: 'that he had been a beggar' (John ix. 8), ὅτι προσαίτης ἦν.

In giving an account of a book one finds most to say about the things with which one does not agree, and I must not omit to speak of the part of Blass's performance which satisfies me least—I mean his work as an editor of the text. Talleyrand said of the Duke of Wellington that he spoke French, as he did everything else, with great courage. Blass's editorial courage is such as to shock the senile timidity of my conservatism. I doubt whether in this department, work on the classical authors is a good education for a New Testament editor, since the scantiness of manuscript evidence in the former case justifies a boldness of conjectural emendation, which is less permissible where the abundance of manuscript evidence is so great that it seems improbable that a true reading should fail to find at least some attestation. Dr. Hort, who declined to use a good deal of the manuscript evidence which his predecessors had accepted as trustworthy, was led by this voluntary poverty to assign a higher place than they to conjecture in New Testament criticism; but he confines his conjectures to his notes, and does not admit them into his text. I like his practice better than that of Blass, though perhaps it makes no real difference in what place an editor puts his conjectures, and it may be prudish in me to insist on typographical modesty. Thus in Acts xvi. 12, both Hort and Blass give good reasons for being dissatisfied with the description of Philippi as πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας πόλις: Hort conjectures an emendation in his note; Blass makes a perhaps less forcible change, but puts it into his text, without any authority, πρώτης μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας. Again, in xvi. 13, οὗ ἐνομιζομεν προσευχῆν εἶναι he edits without any manuscript authority οὗ ἐνόμιζον

ἐν προσευχῇ εἶναι. In Acts xx. 4, where the MSS. give Γάϊος Δερβαῖος καὶ Τιμόθεος, Blass points out that we do not read elsewhere of a Gaius of Derbe, but we do read of a Gaius a Macedonian. So he forcibly makes Luke consistent by correcting Γάϊος, Δερβαῖος δὲ Τιμόθεος. In like manner, it seems a bold measure to strike out κύριος in x. 36. There are many cases where Blass finds that the grammatical constructions which the manuscripts attribute to St. Luke need to be improved in order to be tolerable. Yet he can be sarcastic at the expense of previous critics, who will not permit Luke to contradict modern philosophy, as when, for instance, they will not allow him to be the author of stories implying a belief in the agency of angels. Blass very reasonably says that it is not his business as a philologer to inquire whether such stories can be true. He leaves that discussion to the theologians. 'Sedeant ergo pro tribunali, vetent angelos esse; quod decretum quam coercendi vim habere posset ipsi viderint, sed quid id ad Lucam?' who, no doubt, had the same belief in angels as other Jews and Christians of his generation. Now, I feel myself no more concerned to maintain the excellence of Luke's grammar than of his philosophy, and though I can admit that the following sentences would be improved by the insertions in brackets, I am not persuaded that Luke might not have written them as the manuscripts give them, σαββάτου (ἀπ)έχον ὁδόν (i. 12); πολλοὶ τῶν ἐχόντων πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα, (ἀ) βῶντα φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξήρχοντο (viii. 7); (δ) παρείχε (xix. 24). If Luke had had the advantage of submitting his manuscript to Blass before publication, I dare say he would have been taught that his phrase (xxviii. 11), as given in all Greek MSS., παρασήμῃ Διοσκούροις, 'could not be borne,' and would have been made to substitute ᾧ ἢν παράσημον Διοσκούρων: but before I would allow the best scholar of the present day the same liberty of altering the text of a

Greek author that he would use in correcting a pupil's exercises, I must be satisfied that the author on whom he operates was incapable of using the language with which he finds fault. Lastly, there is a well-known puzzle, xiii. 8, 'Elymas the sorcerer, for so is his name by interpretation,' in order to solve which commentators have been obliged to have recourse to Arabic. Blass, who does not profess to be a Hebrew scholar, seems to me to have been over-bold in venturing in this case outside his own province; but it is only relevant here to remark, that the authority is quite inadequate on which he has altered in his text 'Ελύμας to 'Εροιμᾶς.<sup>1</sup>

I am sorry to have had to spend so many words in expressing dissent from one from whom I have learned so much; and I gladly turn to say something about his many interesting explanations and illustrations. As a specimen of his minute vigilance, I cite his remark that the address of the high priest (iv. 7) to the 'unlearned and ignorant' men who had presumed to work a miracle, ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς, contains a touch of scorn in the last word, which one is tempted to translate 'the like of you.' One cannot venture to quote everything that strikes one, when no trouble has been taken to ascertain what things Blass has only in common with previous commentators. For instance (Acts xx. 13), we are told that Paul did not embark with his companions when they sailed from Troas to Assos, but made his journey to the latter place by land. It was not left for Blass to discover that, owing to the configuration of the coast, the ship would have to travel

<sup>1</sup> Blass has in this case taken guidance from Klostermann, from whom, however, he quotes another suggestion, which has much more attraction for me. He thinks that in the opinion of the Samaritans about Simon (viii. 10),

Οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη, the last word does not mean *great*, but is only a transliteration of the Aramaic word מְגַלֵּל (mēgallē), and means *a revealer*.

what may be called two sides of a triangle, and could easily be caught up by one who went directly the third. Conybeare and Howson, followed by Farrar, suggest that Paul's inducement for separation was the pleasure of meditation as he walked by himself through the oak woods; but it may well be doubted whether a solitary walk of twenty miles would have had the attractions for Paul it might have for an English pedestrian tourist, or whether he would have been likely to risk the chance of missing his ship. One would prefer to think that if he walked, it was in order to enjoy the company of some of his Troas friends, who were making the same journey. But the Revised Version has recognized that *πεζεύειν* does not necessarily mean to go on foot, and Blass suggests that Paul probably had not to depend on his own legs, and that the friends at Troas who saw the opportunity of keeping the Apostle a few hours longer in their company arranged for sending him to Assos, either mounted or in a trap, in time to overtake his travelling companions. In any case, this little incident of Paul's temporary separation from his company is one which could only have been related by an eye-witness.

I cannot afford space for more than one example of Blass's instructive commentary, and I select his remarks on Luke's account of Apollos (xviii. 24 sqq.). What Blass says about the name Apollos is interesting, but probably had all been said before. But on the teaching of Apollos before Aquila and Priscilla met him, Blass throws some light which seems to be new. Farrar certainly expresses the view commonly taken of Luke's account when he says that Apollos was only so far a Christian that he knew and had accepted the baptism of John, and was thus imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity. If this be so, one would be tempted to find some conjectural emendation for the adverb, when Luke goes on to say of him,

ἐδίδασκεν ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. In the verses following Luke goes on to tell of twelve others who had only been baptized with John's baptism, whom many imagine to have been converted by Apollos himself, and whom Chrysostom and many others suppose to have been mere disciples of John the Baptist, and as yet to have heard nothing about Jesus. Yet Blass remarks that the words employed with reference to these men, μαθηταί by itself, and πιστεύσαντες, are never used, except in speaking of Christians. Blass's solution is, that Apollos did know accurately the story of our Lord's life and teaching, but, as Luke tells, was unacquainted with any other *baptism* than John's. And this suggests the interesting inquiry, How did Apollos acquire the knowledge which he did possess? Was it from a book, or from *viva voce* intercourse with Christians. Surely, if he had been converted by a Christian missionary, he would have been taught by him the necessity for Christian baptism. But if he learned from a written Gospel, it might have been as full a one in its account of our Lord's words and deeds as Mark's or Luke's and yet have said no more than these do about Christian baptism. It would certainly have an interesting bearing on the date of the publication of the Gospels, if it is possible that one could have found its way to Alexandria at so early a date as that of the conversion of Apollos.

I have not been sorry to spend a little time in showing that Blass's work deserves study on other grounds than that feature of it which has attracted most attention, namely, his theory of a double recension of the Acts, which has made so many converts that Nestle ventures to head his article on the subject, 'A new Biblical discovery.' It is likely that the readers of this Paper have sufficient general knowledge of the theory just mentioned to make it needless that any lengthened exposition of it should be given here. Codex D contains a copious assortment of

the mistakes copyists are wont to commit, through errors of eye or ear, through inattention, through trusting the memory overmuch, through mistaken attempts to correct supposed errors or omissions of the archetype. The very first chapter of the Acts contains an illustration of the tendency of scribes to refuse to allow two words to part company which usually go together (such as eating and drinking, fasting and praying, wives and children), and when one occurs to add the other, with or without authority. Thus (i. 14) where we are told that the apostles steadfastly continued in prayer with the women, D adds to *σὺν γυναῖξιν, καὶ τέκνοις*. D cannot fairly be compared with such MSS. as B and N, which were carefully prepared for Church use, the work of the actual scribe being read over and revised by a *διορθωτής*. The parent of D was, no doubt, a book, the offspring of ordinary commercial manufacture, brought with him by some private Christian to the West. A common process in the multiplication of copies was, that several scribes wrote simultaneously what one read aloud. A scribe whose pace was slow would be apt, in his struggles to keep up with the reader, to omit or abridge words, or sometimes even to substitute others of like meaning, his memory retaining the general sense of what his ear had caught, but having lost the exact word. Thus an inattentive reader in Church may sometimes be heard to say 'eternal life,' though the book before him has 'everlasting life.' This perhaps might sufficiently account for such a variation as we find Matt. vi. 8, where, instead of *πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν*, D has *πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα*. If the errors of D were all of this character, they would need no special theory to account for them. But cases occur where D entirely recasts the sentence which appears in the better attested text. Thus what Luke in his Gospel, xxiii. 12, tells of the reconciliation of Pilate and Herod, appears in the common text as



follows:—*ἐγένοντο δὲ φίλοι δ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Πιλάτος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετ' ἀλλήλων· προὔπῃρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες πρὸς ἑαυτούς.* But D has *ὄντες δὲ ἐν ἀηδίᾳ ὁ Ἡρ. καὶ ὁ Π. ἐγένοντο φίλοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.* Variations of this kind are of constant occurrence in D's text of the Acts, and they clearly cannot be attributed to the carelessness of a scribe, scarcely even to the license of an unscrupulous editor, but rather give the impression that the story is told by some one who, though he may have learned it from Luke, felt himself at liberty to tell it in his own way. There are also additions and explanations, to which the best attested text of Luke gives no countenance. Characteristics which appear in an exaggerated form in D are common in a less degree to the MSS. which Hort calls Western, and inspire him with so low an opinion of them as can be expressed in the character given by one Irish witness of another, he never told the truth in his life, unless when he thought it was a lie. In cases such as Acts xii. 25, where the better attested text is clearly wrong, Hort will not admit the possibility that a MS. free from this error may have found its way to the West, and he counts the Western correction as but a lucky conjecture, on which he is at liberty to improve, if he can, by a better conjecture of his own. Blass, on the contrary, considers that some of the passages peculiar to D have such marks of originality as show that they could only have proceeded from the author himself; and his theory is, that Luke, having first made a rough draft of his work, himself made a fair copy to be sent to Theophilus, making in his transcription such occasional alterations as an author copyist will freely do in what he has written himself; and that a double recension has arisen from both rough draft and transcription having become the parents of other copies. A natural objection to this theory is, that though this may account for D's variations in the Acts, it leaves unexplained those in the Gospels.

Blass answers, in our present Number, that the variations in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John are of quite a different character from those in the Acts.<sup>1</sup> On going over the readings in the Acts, I find much reason to sympathize with Hort's dislike to the recension which Blass denotes as β. There are many things that Luke, no doubt, might possibly have said, but which are also such as a not too scrupulous editor might have made him say, whether in order to tell the story more graphically, to supply needful explanations, or for other reason. The style is sometimes too Lucan; that is to say, if Luke uses a phrase on one occasion he is made use it on another, and thus an impression is conveyed that we have here not Luke himself, but one trying to speak like him, who, however, must certainly have known Luke's writings well. But, no doubt, no one could speak so like Luke as Luke himself, and in some cases the imitation seems beyond the skill of a reviser. Thus the indication given by the use of the pronoun 'we' (Acts xi. 28), that Luke had been a member of the Church of Antioch before he became Paul's travelling companion is quite in Luke's manner, and yet is a refinement that scarcely would have occurred to an imitator. Again, in vi. 10, instead of οὐκ ἴσχυον ἀντιστῆναι τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι ᾧ ἐλάλει of the common text, we have in β, μὴ δυνάμενοι ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, an example which further illustrates that the variations between the two recensions cannot be explained as resulting from copyists' errors, but must be attributed to the deliberate alteration of a reviser. An author rewriting his own work may occasionally choose to vary his forms of expression, and perhaps hardly be able himself to say why he did so, but it is not easy to explain why another person should make these changes. Here ἀντοφθαλμεῖν is a word else-

<sup>1</sup> A second article, in which he deals with the variations in St. Luke's Gospel, arrives too late for inclusion in this Number.

where used by Luke (xxvii. 15), but there in so different a way that the employment of it here would by no means obviously suggest itself. The phrase is well within the sphere of Luke's vocabulary, occurring Wisdom xii. 14.

There is one case in which it seems to me that Blass must either abandon an interpretation of his own, or give up his patronage of recension  $\beta$ . If we are in doubt whether a sentence giving an explanation of what occurred belongs to the original, or has been introduced by a benevolent copyist, the doubt is removed if the explanation turns out to be a wrong one. In Acts xviii., which relates the last part of Paul's second missionary journey, we are told (xviii. 18) that he left Corinth for Syria; (xviii. 19) that he stopped on the way at Ephesus; (xviii. 21, Authorized Version) that when pressed to make a stay he refused, on the ground that he was anxious to keep the coming feast at Jerusalem; (xviii. 22) that he then sailed from Ephesus, landed at Cæsarea, went up and saluted the Church, and then went down to Antioch. Nothing is said of anything that happened in this, which is counted his fourth visit to Jerusalem, whether because Luke did not accompany him to Jerusalem, or, as some suggest, because Paul was coldly received there. But, according to Blass, he did not on this occasion visit Jerusalem at all; ἀναβάς means that he went up, not to Jerusalem, but from the place of landing, to visit the Church of Cæsarea founded by Peter. Now it is to be noted that the statement of xviii. 21, that Paul was anxious to keep a feast at Jerusalem, is not found in the best authorities for recension  $\alpha$ , and, accordingly, does not appear in the Revised Version N. T.; but it does properly belong to recension  $\beta$ . If it is not part of the original text of the Acts, it must be a false explanation suggested to the reviser of  $\beta$  by Acts xx. 16. And it would seem that Blass here, in forsaking the interpretation of previous

commentators, throws some discredit on his doctrine of the Lucan origin of recension  $\beta$ .

However, the reasons for doubting  $\beta$  are but suspicions, which must give way if stronger reasons can be produced on the other side; and I cannot resist the conviction that some of the statements in  $\beta$  really have Luke's authority. I can only give a couple of specimens.

(1) In Acts xxi. 16 Luke tells that when he and Paul went up from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, there went with them one Mnason, an old disciple, with whom they were to lodge. It might perhaps seem strange to us that Paul should have been dependent on a stranger for entertainment at Jerusalem, a place where we should have supposed he could have relied on the hospitality of private friends, if not of the brethren who we are told in the next verse received him gladly (*ἀσμένως ἀπεδέξαυτο*). But  $\beta$  throws welcome light on the matter by representing that Mnason was Paul's host, not at Jerusalem, but at a certain village where they slept on the way. Now, the distance from Cæsarea to Jerusalem was some seventy miles, a journey more than could be made in one day. Peter took two days to go from Joppa to Cæsarea, less than half the distance; and Paul himself, when sent down from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, made a halt on the way. If this, therefore, be a reviser's correction, the reviser must have had an intimate knowledge of localities. But Blass is able very much to strengthen the case. Mnason is described as *ἀρχαῖος μαθητής*, and we might be tempted to ask when and how he was converted. Now, in an earlier part of the Acts  $\beta$  has another addition, stating that, after the conversion of Cornelius, Peter preached the Gospel through the places through which he passed in going up to Jerusalem; that is to say, in the very region in which Mnason lived. It is a natural combination to infer that Mnason was one of his converts; but since in the Acts

no hint is given connecting the two passages, if there be coincidence here, it has the force of an undesigned coincidence. Luke, when lodging in Mnason's house, might have heard enough about Peter's preaching on his way back to Jerusalem to induce him to give a line of mention to this preaching, and yet not have thought it important to preserve the little note at a later period, when his mind was fully occupied with relating the work of Paul.

(2)  $\beta$  throws a good deal of light on the reference made to the Church of Jerusalem on the question of the enforcement of circumcision on Gentiles. It represents that it was those who came down from Jerusalem insisting on the necessity of circumcision, who, when their teaching was not accepted at Antioch, required that Paul and Barnabas and others should go up to the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem, and be judged before them on this question. We are not surprised to hear that Paul, insisting, as he did, on his independent authority, should have resisted this demand, and yet we can understand that, on consideration, he might see the advantage of personal conference with the leaders of the Jerusalem Church, in which he might make them fully understand the reasons for his views and the tenacity with which he held them. He tells us himself (Gal. ii. 2) that he went up in consequence of a revelation. However, it does not appear that when he went up, he or Barnabas made any attempt to ask for a decision of the controverted question from the assembled Church. All that they are represented to have done was to report the success of their preaching among the Gentiles. But  $\beta$  tells that it was the same persons who had raised the controversy at Antioch who again pressed for a decision of it at Jerusalem. The words used in the letter adopted by the Council, 'it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,' have been the subject of controversy, and have received different interpretations. I believe that

the key to the right one is given by  $\beta$ , which, in reporting Peter's speech, adds that he spoke 'in the Spirit.' If we inquire in what way the Holy Ghost manifested His will, when in the Acts we are told that the Holy Ghost said (xiii. 2), the Holy Ghost forbade (xvi. 6), the Holy Ghost witnesseth (xx. 23), I know no other explanation than that it was through the mouth of prophets speaking 'in the Spirit' (xix. 6), who were commissioned to say, like Agabus (xxi. 11), 'Thus saith the Holy Ghost.' Accordingly, the narrative in  $\beta$  is that when Peter had spoken 'in the Spirit,' the Apostles and elders gave their assent, the tumult was stilled, and the whole assembly kept silence, while Paul and Barnabas related the success of their missionary labours; and finally James, in formulating the decision of the assembly, recognized the advice of Peter as given under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

Space does not allow me to give other examples of the reasons that have convinced me that Blass's hypothesis of a double recension postulates a *vera causa*, and, therefore, in cases where I might otherwise be disposed to think that we had not Luke's work, but a skilful imitation of it, incline me to the more favourable judgment. If it were the case that two forms of the Acts were current, both with rightful claims to authority, it can well be imagined that mixture of the two would be apt to arise. In the case of the Synoptic Gospels we have three lives of our Lord, all well authorized, and it is known how transcribers have been tempted to transfer the words of one to another. Probably less reverence was felt for the Book of the Acts than for the book which contained the words of our Lord Himself; and a Christian teacher, finding that two ways of telling the Apostolic history were both admissible, might feel himself at liberty, if he preserved the substance of the story in which both agreed, to make further variations in the language, such as it would appear his predecessors

had been free to do. I had at first thought that it would have been more convenient if Blass had printed his two recensions side by side, instead of, as he has done, printing recension  $\alpha$  in his text, and giving the variations of  $\beta$  in notes; but I soon saw that the former course would be very difficult, on account of the defectiveness of our authorities for  $\beta$ , no single authority giving it with completeness and tolerable purity. But the length to which this article has run allows me to add no more than that it must not be imagined that the value of Blass's book depends on his success in maintaining his theory of two recensions; however great the reader's disinclination to accept it, he need not fear that he will not find in this commentary much to reward his study.

G. SALMON.

## A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM THE FAYYÛM.

THE following piece of good fortune has occurred to me. My friend, Mr. Wilbour, who spends his winters in Egypt, sent me recently the squeeze and copy of an inscription on a black stone which he bought at Dimêh, in the Fayyûm, on April 26th, 1895.

The right side being broken off, he asked me to do what I could in the way of restoration. As we had far the larger part of the text, this was to some extent feasible. But some of the lines could not be filled up with any certainty. I communicated these facts to Prof. Wilcken of Breslau, who, in reply, sent me a copy from a squeeze of a very mutilated text sent him by Dr. Krebs, which appeared to be of a like date, and possibly on the same subject. Prof. Wilcken conjectured that the two inscriptions might possibly fit together. The first glance I got at the copy he sent me showed that he had made a good guess. We had evidently come upon two parts of the same stone.

On communicating with Dr. Krebs, who most kindly put all his information at my disposal, I was informed that the second part of the stone (B) is only known through a squeeze which the late H. Brugsch left, among other bequests, to the University Library at Göttingen. He had given no indication whatever of the place where he had seen the stone, or of the circumstances under which he took the squeeze. So it has happened, that copies of the two fragments, one from Göttingen, the other from Paris,



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have been brought together in Dublin. The lesser piece (B) must have been found and copied by Brugsch some years ago. Quite apart from the main fracture, it seems to be in a far worse condition than (A).

I now give the combined text, repeating that the left portion (A) is Mr. Wilbour's, the right (B) comes from Dr. Krebs. In no case are more than two letters lost in the fracture, so that there is no doubt possible as regards the readings at that point, save in line 7. The endings are in some cases lost, and seem to be irregular in length, so that here there is still room for some conjecture. The first, fourth, fifth, and last lines are somewhat larger and wider spaced in the graving.

A.

B.

υπερ βασιλισσ[η]ς Κλεοπατ[ρας]	
θεας ενεργετιδος κ[αι] βασιλεως Πτολεμαιο[υ]	
τον και Αλεξανδρου θ[εου] Φιλομητορος	
Ι]σιδι Σονοναει θε[αι] μεγιστη και	
Αρποκρατη και Πρεμα[ρ]ρει θεοις ευχαριστοις	5
Διονυσιος Δημητριου κ[α]ι Θασ[η]ς Φιλων[ος η] γυνη	
και τα τεκνα την εις τ[η]ν απο του δρομου	
Πρεμαρρειους αγουσαν   ευθειαν οδον επ[ι]	
τον ναβλα και τας γεφυρ[ας] προς ευχε[ρειαν]	
ωδοποιημενην εις αμφοτ[ε]ρα τα ιερα τη[ν] τε	10
δ]απανην και τον βωμο[ν]	
Λεγ το και ι επειφ   κ̄γ	

The date is from the joint reign of Kleopatra III., widow of Euergetes II., and her second son, Ptolemy Alexander, whence the double number, year 13, which is also (usually του και, but το is quite plain) 10, 25th of Epeiph. It corresponds nearly to 104 B.C. There are instances of this dating both in demotic contracts and in Greek papyri recently acquired by Mr. Grenfell. Though

Wilcken had guessed from demotic documents that this queen was called *Ευεργετις*, and that the space required to fill up l. 2 would require it, this is, I believe, the first actual occurrence of it. So also, Alexander is not often called *Φιλομητωρ*, though this title was apparently adopted from that of his brother (Lathyrus), who is called *Φιλομητωρ Σωτηρ*.

The letters after *Ισιδι* in l. 4 are quite clear, but the sense I cannot supply. *Σονοναει*, if correct, must be a new epithet of Isis.

*Αρποκρατης* (the *χ* is not perfectly clear in the squeeze) is, of course, Harpocrates, a god not occurring elsewhere in the early Fayyûm papyri, and here coupled with a new god Premarres in one shrine. Wilcken notes that this latter suggests the deified Amenemhat III., whose 'throne-name' was Marres, or Manres.

At all events, the name had already occurred in the Petrie Papyri (II., p. [141], l. 65), where the palm grove of the altar of Premanres, at Apollonias (in the Fayyûm) is mentioned. In l. 6 the name of Dionysius' wife, daughter of Philon, as I read it, seems to be, according to Dr. Krebs, *Θασης*, a common name in the Fayyûm.<sup>1</sup> The title *ευχαριστοι*, applied to these gods, is paralleled by the title *σωτηρες*, also applied to Sarapis and Isis, on the gold plaque found in 1886 at Alexandria.

The construction of the remainder is anything but clear. The common verb which governs *δαπανην* and *βωμον*, and which would be in full *τὴν δαπανὴν ἐχορήγησε καὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο*, is omitted; but that is quite usual. It is also certain the expense was caused by the building of a road, made, I suppose, *πρὸς ευχη*[ν (or *ευχε*[ρειαν ?]), to both the shrines (of Isis and of the other two gods). *ευχεως* is used in Pap. B. M. cccci. (of almost the same

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Petrie Papyri*, II., p. [93], l. 17.

date) for *easily*, of a journey. But when we strive to translate the sentence, there are great difficulties. First, there is a *δρόμος*, or high-way leading up to a temple. If (according to the copy I have received) there is really nothing after *δρομον* in l. 7, then *Πρεμαρρειους* seems to be the genitive (for *Πρεμαρρεους*), and it is the *δρόμος* leading to the altar or shrine of this god. But there remain two articles *την εις τ[η]ν* (*τον* or *των* seems impossible), pointing to two other roads. Which of them agrees with the straight road of l. 8? For one *οδον* seems to be omitted, or also the first *την* is a mistake. At the end of l. 8 should it be *επ[ι]* only? If so, we may translate either ‘*up to* or *over* the *nabla* and the bridges.’ The word *ναβλα* is well known as the name of an Egyptian lute or banjo; in the present connexion it must have meant something quite different. The endings of both 9 and 10 are doubtful. In 10 there would seem to be more room than for *την*: indeed, the copy before me gives *γε*, but *τε* and *τη* might easily be confused.

I give a tentative translation, following the clues indicated in my notes:—

‘On behalf of Queen Kleopatra, the beneficent goddess, and King Ptolemy, also called Alexander, the god Philometer.

‘To Isis Sononais, the very great goddess, and to Harpokrates and Premarres, favouring deities.

‘Dionysius, son of Demetrius, and Thases, daughter of Philon, his wife, and his children [dedicate] the straight road [*i.e.* short cut] leading into that from the *dromos* of the temple of Premarres, engineered for convenience sake [or for a vow] over the *nabla* and the bridges, to approach both the shrines; [having undertaken] the expense, and [set up] this altar.

‘Year 13, which is also 10, Epeiph the 23rd.’

If I may venture to add more conjectures, the general sense seems to correspond with the existence of two

separate temples, each approached from the neighbouring town by a road; these roads were separated, as was the case all over the highly-irrigated Fayyûm, by water-courses, so that they who would pass from the shrine of Premarres to that of Isis had to go into the town (probably of Diméh), and then out again by the second road. Dionysius seems to have made a cross-road over the inundated fields and their water-courses, so as to join the two main roads. We have only the picture of a banjo or guitar to guide us to the probably metaphorical use of *nabla*, either for slightly radiating water-courses, like the strings of the instrument, or a viaduct for foot-passengers, sustained with stretched ropes, such as are mentioned in Pet. Pap. II., pp. 14, 34.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

THE LATIN LANGUAGE—AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF LATIN SOUNDS, STEMS, AND INFLEXIONS.<sup>1</sup>

SINCE Corssen's *Aussprache* no work has appeared in England or Germany 'devoted to a separate investigation by comparative philological methods' of the Latin language. Corssen's great work has been out of print for some years, and the labours of the modern school of philologists have rendered it inevitable that much of his work should be revised by a scholar well versed in modern methods, and familiar with the results of the investigations of the last twenty years. In Germany the need for such a work is not so imperative as in England. Until the publication of King and Cookson's excellent *Principles of Sound and Inflexion* it was the standing reproach against English scholars that they were prone to view even Curtius as a dangerous revolutionary. For the most of us the very name of Brugmann had not yet risen above the horizon.

It would be a gross injustice to the present work to compare it with any treatise that appeared in England before the publication of the translation of Brugmann's *Grundriss*. To the latter work it owes much, viz. its cautious and critical reserve, and its thorough grasp of the whole field of modern research. But it must not be assumed that *The Latin Language* is merely an adaptation. It contains much that cannot be found in the German scholar's work, or in any other book that has appeared in Germany since Corssen's time. Indeed, its most striking characteristic is the fulness of its reference to the Latin grammarians, to the Oscan and Umbrian dialects, and to

<sup>1</sup> By Wm. M. Lindsay, M.A.

the early Latin inscriptions and fragments of the scenic and other early Latin writers. It is this thoroughness that will make Mr. Lindsay's work an 'everlasting possession,' indispensable even to those who are not specialists in philology.

It is impossible within the limits of a short review even to touch upon the myriad points of interest in a closely printed book of some 600 pages. It will suffice to draw attention to a few points of special importance.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is Chapter III., on Accentuation. Mr. Lindsay discusses at great length the differences between the Greek and Latin accent. In a word, he holds that in the main the Greek accent was one of *pitch*, the Latin of *stress*. This is proved by the fact that Latin syllables were syncopated before and after the accent, while Greek words remained intact. This remark is of considerable importance, on account of its bearing on the modern controversy as to the correct pronunciation of Greek. If Mr. Lindsay is correct, the accent must have changed its character in Greek about the commencement of our era, as Babrius takes account of the accent in his metre. This change will also account for the most remarkable characteristic of the *λαλουμένη γλῶσσα* of the present day, viz. the extraordinary syncopation which words suffer, e.g. *κνούπ* (= *κουνούπι* fr. *κύνωψ*); *κλούρ* (= *κολύριον*); *λέτε* = *λέγετε*. There are traces of this syncopation after the accent even in early documents, e.g. *ὀλίον* (= *ὀλίγον*) in the *Petrie Papyri*. With regard to Latin accentuation, it is a strange fact, noted but not explained by Mr. Lindsay, that the Latin grammarians were unaware that the Greek and Latin accent differed in character. Mr. Lindsay does not follow Brugmann in his cautious reserve with regard to the origin of the passive R in Celtic and Latin. He seems inclined to adopt the suggestion that the origin of this R is to be found in the Verb-

stem with the locative suffix *r* used predicatively, like the *i*-locative of the verbal S-stem in the historical infinitive (e.g. *hostes apparere* = the enemy in the action of appearing). Thus the Latin passive forms in R were used originally impersonally with an accusative, and the change from *vitam vivitur* to *vita vivitur* will be paralleled by Horace's *invideor* for *mihi invidetur*. No doubt this view is the best that has been proposed, as it is supported by Celtic.

Mr. Lindsay gives, but without acknowledgment, Burmann's explanation of the gerundive suffix, viz. *dus* is to be referred to the verb *dare*, and this suffix is joined with an accusative as in *venundo*, *pessumdo*. Thus *laudandus* will = *laudam-dus*, *ferendus* = *ferom-dus*. The change from the gerund *agitandum est vigilias* to *agitandae vigiliae* will be parallel to the change from *legitur Vergilium* to *legitur Vergilius*.

In looking through Mr. Lindsay's book, I have noted the following points, which are more or less new to me. *Sandblind* = ἡμλινφλος. The original form of *Julius* was *Fullus*. I notice that several MSS. have *fulle*, *ceratis ope Daedalea* in Horace. *Carmen* is connected with *Caro* (in Osc. *any portion*). If this is so, Horace's *carmina dividit* is a Schema Etymologicum like *moenia parva Petili*. *Coena* is not a modern blunder, as it is found on an early Praenestine Cista of the third century B.C. The change of D to L in Latin is explained by false analogy, e.g. *lingua* is due to *lingo*, *lautea* to *lavo*. *Arbiter* is from the root *g<sub>uet</sub>* of *veto*. On page 313 Mr. Lindsay shows that the assimilated forms of verbs are quite as old as the others. Finally, it is of importance to note that Mr. Lindsay gives (on the authority of Prob. App. 198-9) *cautis*, *plebis*, *vatis*, *vepris*, and *famis* as instances of vulgar Latin. This is a strong objection against the em. *vepris inhorruit*, which has been accepted by many German editors in Horace.

W. J. M. STARKIE.

## BRITISH MUSEUM PAPYRUS CCCC1.

(UNPUBLISHED.)

Φομμοντι συγγενει και επιστρατηγωι και στρατηγωι  
 της Θηβαιδος  
 και  
 παρα Απολλωνιας της Ξενμουθεως και Αφροδισια[s  
 της και Ταχρατιος αμφοτερων Δρυτωνος θυγατερων  
 κατ[οι]κουσων εν Παθουρει . υπαρχοντος ημιν τε και ταις 5  
 εαυ[τ]ων αδελφαις Αριστοι τηι και Ξενμωνθει και Νικαριωι  
 τηι [και] Θερμουθει και [Α]πολλωνιαι νεωτεραι τηι και Ξενπελαιδι  
 μερ[ους] ημισους των [π]ατρικων εγγαιων, οντων δ εν τε τωι  
 περ[ι] Θ]ηβας και Παθυριτηι, ομοιως δε και οικητικων σω-  
 ματ[ων\*] εν οις και επι του Κοχλακος της Αραβιος τ[ου] δηλου- 10  
 μενου Παθυριτου νομου μερους Λ απο εδαφους αμπελωνος  
 αρουρων βΛ, η οσον αν ηι επι το πλειον, και του απο του απηλιωτου  
 αυτου παραδεισου και φρεατων και εποικιων και ρηγονος  
 και γ[ης] χερσου και αλλης της εκτος φολογιας και των συνκυ-  
 ροντων παντων ων [κ]εκρατηκεν ο πατηρ ημων 15  
 εφ οσον περιηι χρονον· ημων δε μετα την εκεινου  
 τελευτην] των λοι[πων] ] Αριστ[ων Αθ]ηνοδοτου  
 των α[πο] Διος πολεως τ[ης] μεγ[αλης] βιαιοτερον  
 εμβατ[ευσ]ας εις το δη[λουμενο]ν εδαφος του αμπελωνος  
 και εις τα συνκυροντα τουτωι εν τοις της αμειξια[s κ]αιροις 20  
 αντιποιειται αδικως του επιβαλλοντος ημιν μερους Λ  
 και μέρος τι καταπεφυτευκεν αμπελωι, κατεγνικως  
 τωι γυναικας ημας ειναι και ετερωι τοπωι κατοικουσας  
 μη ευχερως δυνασθαι εμβαλειν επι την σημαιομενην



κτησιν· διο κατατεφευγῖαι ἐπὶ σε ἀξιοῦμεν εἰαν φαίνηται μετα- 25  
 πεμψάμενον αὐτὸν ἐπισκεψασθαι καὶ εἰαν ἡ α γραφομένη ἐπαναγ-  
 κασαι ἐκστῆναι τοῦ διασαφουμένου ἡμῶν μέρους Ἰ του ἐδαφους του  
 ἀμπε-

λωνος καὶ ὡν εἰαυτῷ πεφυτευμένων καὶ τῶν προσκυροτῶν τοπῶν  
 καὶ ἐκτε[ν]αὶ α ἀπενηγεται ἐξ αὐτῶν γενήματα περὶ δὲ ἡς  
 πεποσ[κεν] βίας διαλαβεῖν μισοπονηρῶς, ἵν ὦμεν 30  
 ἀντειλημ(με)ναὶ  
 εὐτυχεῖ ??

## COMMENTARY.

In the first place, the date is determined by the magistracies of Phommoutis, which the Aswân stele in the B. M. shows to have occurred in the early years of Cleopatra III. and Soter II. (217-14 B.C.). From the separation of *στρατ.* and *ἐπιστρατ.*, and the non-occurrence of the latter in the Petrie Papyri, it seems likely that it was an innovation, only dating from the time that the titles began to be multiplied. The stele gives year 2; the Turin Papyrus VII., addressed to the same official, year 6. The names of the complainants, the daughters of Dryton, are all double, Greek and Egyptian, which is in itself another interesting evidence of the fusion of Greek with Egyptian life. In the present case we know for certain that Greeks assumed Egyptian names, and not *vice versa*, for, most fortunately, Mr. Grenfell has recovered (in 1895) the will of this very Dryton, in which they all appear with their Greek names only.

Dryton's titles, given in a contract (Grenfell Pap. B), obtained at the same time, are as follows:—

Δρυτων Παμφίλου Κρης τῶν του ἐπιταγματος ἱππαρχου ἐπ  
 ἀνδρων καὶ διαδοχων, and he contracts with Ἀπολλωνιος ο  
 καὶ Ψεννησις Ἀρσιησιος Περσης τῆς ἐπιγονης—another inte-

resting combination. In l. 5, *εαυτων*, is used for *our* own. We know from the will of Dryton that the co-heir was not the Ariston below complained of, but a certain Esthladas, whether he was the complainants' brother or not, we cannot tell. Nor does [Ath]enodotos appear in the will. This Ariston, therefore, must have been some new soldier-settler, probably endowed owing to services *εν τοις της αμειξιας καιροις*. When did these take place? The will is dated in the 44th year, therefore of Euergetes II., so that the present action must have taken place at least twelve years later. It seems likely, therefore, that the death of Euergetes II., and the accession of his widow and son, did not take place without some grave disturbances.

In l. 10 the number of the slaves is lost in a lacuna caused by a fracture of the text. From Turin Pap. VIII. we learn that ο Κυχλαξ was the name of a village on the eastern side of the river (*της Αραβιας*). That papyrus speaks of the western side as *της Αιβυνης*. It was because the ladies could not easily cross the river in troublous times from their residence on the western side that Ariston took these liberties. The whole property seems to have been divided into equal moieties, the female children inheriting jointly one half, and Esthladas the other. The daughters' share comprises a vineyard of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  arouræ, or possibly more, on the west side a garden, tanks, offices, a sheepfold (cf. *πολυρρηνος* used of Libya in Apollonius Rhodius, in Alexandrian epigrams, and its use in Homer), waste land (probably above the irrigation line), and some other land outside the rated property (probably *εκτος φο(ρο)λογιας*). L. 18 has been made out by Mr. Grenfell, who has made some other good suggestions. Apparently this Ariston had seized Esthladas' portion, and then encroached upon the rest, even planting vines on it, because the owners were women, and at a distance, so that they could not conveniently occupy the land. The

petition demands that he shall be ejected, and shall pay damages, in the usual terms. This document is on the so-called *verso* of the papyrus, the other side being perfectly blank. Hence it is a clear exception to Professor Wilcken's law, that the Egyptian scribes always first wrote *along* the fibres, not across them (at right angles).

J. P. MAHAFFY.

DEAZELEY'S HORACE.<sup>1</sup>

THERE is much in Mr. Deazeley's translation that pleases us. In the first place, he almost invariably adopts the tetrastich where Horace has adopted it. Secondly, he invariably confines his ode within the number of lines which were enough for Horace. Thirdly, he adopts somewhat novel metres which are by no means unsuitable, and handles them with dexterity. Fourthly, he hunts carefully for his vocabulary and phrases. Here is a stanza from the second ode of the first book (*Vidimus flavum*)—

Saw we in tawny tide Tiber rush and roar,  
Backward his billows flung from the Tuscan shore,  
Halls of a king to wreck, and to tumble o'er  
Vesta's own fane.

This is one of his equivalents for the Sapphic stanza. The main line seems composed of two dactyls, two trochees, and a syllable. But he has about a dozen different representatives of both Sapphics and Alcaics, and we cannot give examples of them all. He nearly always uses a longer line than most translators, and accordingly is able to secure Horace's full sentiment for the reader, without painful compressure. We will give two passages,

<sup>1</sup> The Odes of Horace, Books I. and II., done into English verse, with *Andromeda, Ariadne, and Jason*, by J. Howard Deazeley, M.A., Merton College, Oxford. London: Henry Frowde, 1894.

which show Mr. Deazeley at his best. First, we take  
 1. 36 (*Et ture et fidibus iuvat*)—

With the odours of incense, the music of lyre,  
 And the blood of a calf that is due,  
 To the gods we pay court that our Numida guard,  
 Who his journey from Spain's end safe through  
 On companions beloved bestows many a kiss;  
 But to none than to Lamia sweet  
 Gives he more, being mindful of boyhood's old times  
 When they twain sat at one master's feet,  
 And together the garment of manhood assumed.  
 Let this day of bliss have its white stone,  
 Let the beakers unstinted be ready to hand,  
 Let our feet to no weariness own  
 Of the Salian dance, nor let Damalis' thirst  
 Conquer Bassus in draught-draining pull;  
 Let the banquet with rose and frail lily be graced,  
 And with parsley of life that is full.

This is spirited, and shows that it is not every modification of the anapæstic metre that is prone to run to vulgarity. The management of the punctuation, so that a stop often comes at the end of the longer verse, is clever, and produces a synaphea which is unexpected and agreeable. We do not care much for Mr. Deazeley's version of 'morem in Salium,' and we share Mr. Gladstone's objection to representing a genitive by an unpronounced apostrophe as 'Damalis,' but these are small points. Our second sample shall be 1. 4. 5-8—

Now Venus leads the dances, while the moon shines overhead,  
 And the Nymphs and Graces foot it turn by turn,  
 In beauty linked, and Vulcan, with the light upon his face,  
 Makes the Cyclops' mighty forges glow and burn.

These passages are sufficient to show that Mr. Deazeley has succeeded in producing a poetical version, which,

without straining after excessive accuracy, is free from the vice of wide paraphrase. His chief fault is that, where his length of line leaves him space to be filled up, he is not content to fill it with some simple development of Horace's words, but adds some new idea to the original. Thus 'altos montes' becomes 'where from lofty skies mountains look down'; 'vagus' is 'inflamed to rove'; 'sacras arces' are 'shrines that were once the gods' desire'; 'partem solido demere de die' is 'nor to steal a strand from warp of daily toil.' Horace is not poetical enough for Mr. Deazeley. This tendency, combined with unsuccessful efforts to select happy rhymes, which remind us of the poet who found it an easy thing to make one excellent line, but very troublesome to make the second, are Mr. Deazeley's chief faults. 'I pass my portals,' in 1. 6. 20, is an excellent rhyme, as far as sound goes, to 'immortals' in vs. 16, but there is nothing in Horace's 'non praeter solitum levis' at all like it. Excessive length of line joined to these defects has produced for 'inhospitale Caucasum' the following verse:—

Or where as host the Caucasus an uncouth part doth play.

We hope Mr. Deazeley, in his next edition, will consent to alter 1. 29. 5—

What savage maiden, having slain her lover,  
To be your slave will you discover?

At present it is painfully ambiguous. We do not like 'impart the lovers smart,' 33. 8, nor 'to trade,' 2. 12. 25, for 'to exchange'; nor his 'post equitem,'

Corroding care climbs brazen ships,  
Nor far from horseman's troop she slips!

Indeed, this is dreadfully bad. Why is Charon, 'satelles

Orci,' turned into 'Orcus' watch-dog'? 'Thy braves' for 'miles,' 1. 6. 4, is comical. 'Rakes,' 1. 25. 2, for 'iuvenes protervi' is beneath Horace. 'Already' for *iam*, 2. 5. 10, is incorrect. Mr. Deazeley must not take on himself yet awhile to write 'Ustica' with the second syllable short, 17. 12. And why 'Falernae,' 20. 12, while we have 'Falernum,' 2. 3. 8? Why 'Tityon,' 2. 14. 9? On the other hand, we like 'phantom hall' for 'domus exilis'; we like 'Curius wild of hair,' and 'Be friends and give me back my heart again,' 1. 16. 28; and 'Not Daunia such a brute as that' of the wolf, 1. 22. 10; and 'harry' for 'vexant,' 2. 9. 4; and 'mearings' for 'limites,' and many other versions of words, passages, and entire odes in Mr. Deazeley's volume, which admits, however, of, and deserves, ample revision.

We shall be on the look-out for the completion of this version.

A. PALMER.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HOMER AND  
AESCHYLUS,

BY THE LATE JOHN ANSTER, LL.D.,

AUTHOR OF 'FAUSTUS: A DRAMATIC MYSTERY, FROM THE GERMAN OF GOETHE.'

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HOMER.

*Iliad*, II., 455-483.

As gloomy fire, seizing some forest wide,  
Burns on the mountain's head, and the broad blaze  
Is seen afar—even so, on every side  
To high Heaven flashed through air the glorious rays  
(While o'er the moving host rich sunlight plays)  
From shield and brassy spear.—As by the springs  
In Lydian valley, where Cäyster strays,  
Hither and thither with exulting wings  
Float countless tribes of birds, and marsh and meadow rings ;

Wild geese and long-neck'd swans and clamorous cranes  
Buoyant in air—each after each, on ground  
Light down, and echo shakes the clanging plains ;  
Thus nations, poured from ships and tents around,  
Deluged the vale ; earth echoes back the sound  
Terrific—tramp of horses and men's tread—  
Till, where his way through flowers Scamander wound,  
Flock'd multitudes, as numberlessly spread  
As leaves or flowers of spring in that sweet valley's bed.



And thick as in the springtime insect clouds  
 The sheepcot throng when milk the pails o'erflows,  
 In that Scamandrian valley swarm'd the crowds  
 Of the long-haired Achaïans ; they to close  
 In deadly battle with their Trojan foes  
 Are all athirst ; and as, where thousands feed  
 In the same field, his own the goatherd knows,  
 Thus do the captains of the people speed  
 To range for fight the men who follow where they lead.

See Agamemnon there among the rest  
 King over all, majestically move !  
 Like Ares zoned, and with Poseidon's breast,  
 And eyes and head of lightning-loving Jove ;  
 And, as the bull is eminent above  
 The herd, even so Atrides on that day  
 Conspicuous shone ; upon him with such love  
 Jove look'd and clothed him with such sovereign sway  
 And dignity of mien, men cannot but obey.

---

ÆSCHYLUS.

*Agamemnon*, 40-254.

CHORUS.

'Tis the tenth year now since Priam's  
 Mighty foe King Menelæus—  
 And with him was Agamemnon ;  
 Both were rulers over kingdoms,  
 Zeus to both gave throne and sceptre—  
 Yoke-mates strong, the sons of Atreus,  
 Led the army of the Argives,  
 Launched the fleet—a thousand galleys.

And their souls for vengeance thirsted  
 And they cried aloud for battle  
 And their cry was—Ares ! Ares !

And their cry was as the cry of  
Vultures in lone air loud screaming,  
In huge anguish for their lost ones  
Whirling round unceasingly ;

High o'er their beds left desolate still beating  
With oary wings—impatient—the blue sky,  
They know not what to do—they cannot rest—  
Returning and returning to where lay  
Whom they so fondly fed from day to day,  
Their plundered children of the callow nest.  
But the Supreme hath heard, and some Apollo  
Or Pan or Zeus not deaf to the entreating  
Plaints of these tenants of their heaven, ere long  
Sends an Eryn timer to avenge their wrong,  
And retribution just is sure to follow.

And thus doth Zeus, guardian of hearth and hall,  
'Gainst Alexander the Atridæ wake  
To vengeance armed for the lost woman's sake,  
Whom many a suitor sought his own to call.

Of the false Trojan, strange festivities  
Ushered the spousal rite—the earnest strife  
Of athletes who for very death or life  
Wrestled—Deep planted in the dust were knees,  
Spears shivered—Ills that on the Danäi fall  
Alike and Trojans. Zeus disposes all ;  
And what is, is, and what will be, will be,  
Still consummating the divine decree.

Nor secret sigh, nor lustral charm  
Of tears, nor sobbing breast  
The inflexible disarm,  
Or soothe the Furies' ire  
For wedlock's vows unblest  
By Hymenæal fire.

When the army sailed for Troy,  
We remained—unhonoured now  
Faded skin and shrivelled brow.

Leaning on the staff we seek  
 To make the failing footsteps sure.  
 With the old man and the boy  
 Vital sap alike is weak.  
 Ares to the immature  
 Hath not come. In the young breast  
 With the fervid blood's unrest  
 Strength is budding; like the sere  
 Autumn leaf, the old decay.  
 Very children they appear;  
 Three-footed they feel their way,  
 Wending out into the light,  
 As the dream of the past night,  
 Half-remembered, haunts the day.

And thou

Daughter of Tyndareus! Queen Clytemnestra!  
 What's this?—what new thing?—from the seat of war  
 Hath cheery missive come, or messenger  
 Reached thee? And why these preparations for  
 Sacrifice? All the altars, all aglow,  
 Of the gods, whose provident rule the State upbuilds  
 And guards—heaven's gods above and earth's below,  
 They of the crowded mart and the free fields.  
 On every altar burns the incense red—  
 While starting here, and there, and everywhere,  
 To the farthest height of the heavens red torches flare,  
 With soft pure dews of soothing unguent fed,  
 Cake from the royal dwelling's inmost cell.

Of these things, tell me all that thou canst tell;  
 Say all that not unfitly may be said;  
 Allay the gloom of this solicitude,  
 That restless darkens now into despair,  
 And now, as though the joy-diffusing light  
 Of blazing altars made man's spirit bright,  
 Smiles, even as hope, that sees in all things good,  
 And wards off cruel heart-devouring care.

Yes ! I am old : yet I remember well  
 What I then saw, and well can I relate  
 The signs that to the royal armament  
 Spoke for their enterprise a favouring fate.  
 Yes ! age hath its own strength, is eloquent,  
 And Heaven upon me breathes the breath of song,  
 Mine from my childhood ! and the omen's truth  
 Time still confirms, and the fulfilled event.  
 And this too makes me feel in spirit strong,  
 To tell how the prime flower of Hellas' youth  
 And our two kings, with spear and vengeful hand—  
 A nation's justice—into Teucer's land  
 The bird of sovereign Jove impetuous sent,  
 King of the birds—to the two kings of the fleet  
 A double omen—two they were in sooth,  
 One black, one all adown the back was white.  
 Fast by the palace halls, upon the right,  
 The spear-hand side, sate they in auspicious seat—  
 Conspicuous rock the road that overhung—  
 Feeding upon a hare heavy with young,  
 On a hare feeding never more to run—  
 Her last lost race is o'er, her day of life is done.

Ailinoi ! Ailinoi ! swell the wild wail,  
 But of the omens may the good prevail !

The Prophet, when before his mind he brings  
 The birds upon the captured hare who fed,  
 He in the eagles sees our warrior kings.  
 " In time this expedition seizes on  
 Its prey, the city of Priamos," he said.  
 " But all the wealth of Ilion, tower and town,  
 War's ravage violently shall destroy.  
 O that no envious cloud e'en now come down  
 From jealous gods ; no boding tempest frown  
 Upon the army, the strong curb of Troy !  
 Chaste Artemis against the royal pair,

Against Jove's winged hounds fierce anger hath.  
Their sacrifice, the embryo with the hare,  
The goddess loathes, and she beholds in wrath  
The eagles on their hateful food regale.

Ailino! Ailino! swell the wild wail,  
But of the omens may the good prevail!

The mighty lion's younglings are her care,  
Whose milky sustenance the dam supplies.  
The Lovely loves the young life's dewy dawn,  
And thus the tender scions everywhere  
Of wild and tame, in forest or on lawn  
That seek their food, are precious in her eyes.  
Now doth the goddess with her father plead,  
That he would perfect what he hath decreed,  
And in the phantom birds, that to the sight  
Rose of the parting army on the right,  
Foreshown to the Achæians—conquest still,  
But with the boding gloom of intermediate ill.  
Pæan! all-healing god! I call on thee,  
Avert, assuage, the anger that would raise  
Conflicting winds, and hold by long delays  
The navy of the Danæi from the sea,  
Speeding far other sacrifice, unblest,  
Oblation none to hallow jocund feast,  
Unrighteous parent of perpetual strife  
Unnatural, disloyalty of wife.  
Th' old unappeasable ancestral wrath,  
In this unhappy house her dwelling hath,  
Lurks in the old familiar haunts of crime,  
And startling reappears from time to time,  
Crafty and cruel, Nemesis unchanging,  
Remembering, resenting, and revenging  
Crime by fresh crime! Fury unreconciled!  
Death-destined parent! death-devoted child!"  
'Twas thus, in tones that like the trumpet's clang  
Thrilled every heart, the voice of Calchas rang.

Strange horror on the royal house to fall,  
 Shown in the vision of the wayside birds,  
 Horror unmeasurable by man's words,  
 Yet good preponderating over all.  
 Now give we choral voice to bliss and bale.  
 Ailinoi ! Ailinoi ! swell the wild wail,  
 But of the omens may the good prevail !

Zeus ! by that name, if that name pleases thee,  
 Thee I invoke ! searching all round,  
 And weighing all, none other is there found  
 But Zeus alone ; none other could I dare  
 Implore to free me from the load of care,  
 That with vain terror still disquiets me.

The mighty one of yore,  
 Who blossomed in wide strength,  
 Is dumb—his name no more  
 Is heard 'mong men, and he who then  
 Bore sway hath fallen ; the conqueror at length  
 Came ; other reign is o'er !

The man, whose lofty triumph-songs adore  
 Zeus, the victorious one, the sovereign lord,  
 Is wise—hath wisdom given him as his great reward,  
 And He makes suffering his school of love.  
 The memory of past anguish haunts our sleep,  
 And drop by drop into the heart sinks deep.  
 Thus wisdom comes to man without man's will,  
 Gift of the gods, who on firm thrones above,  
 Seated secure, forget not, but still keep  
 Kind watch o'er man, educing good from ill.  
 Of the two leaders of the Achaian fleet  
 The elder born—though little wont to treat  
 With slight a Prophet, or deny his power—  
 Now that the hour foretold of evil came,  
 Breathed the tempestuous spirit of the hour ;  
 Now when the Achaian people pined away  
 With torpor of inaction day by day,

Day after day, and every day the same  
Thirst and gaunt famine staring from the frame  
Of the poor withered men—the while they lay  
In front of Calchis, where the restless waves  
At Aulis roll into the rock-bound bay,  
Returning with long roar as the mad tempest raves—

And blasts unceasing down the Strymon sweep,  
Forbidding barques in bay to leave the shore,  
And leaving wanderers of the outer deep  
Hopeless of home and harbour evermore—  
The sea stores wasted with the long delay—  
Sails by the wild wind torn, and cables worn—  
And, blighted all in youth's fresh blooming years,  
The flowers of Argos faded fast away—

And when the Prophet's voice pealed on the ears  
Of the assembled council, and proclaimed  
Inexorable remedy more dread  
Than the wild tempest pealing overhead,  
And when the name of Artemis he named,  
The Atridæ brothers trembled at the sound,  
In anguish with their sceptres smote the ground,  
Nor could refrain their tears.

And then and there it was the elder said—  
“A heavy heavy doom to bide Heaven's mandate disobeying.  
A heavy heavy doom to bide—my own—my daughter slaying.  
My hands, a father's hands, drip blood—the life-blood of my  
child.

Rivers of gore are flowing o'er the altar floor defiled.  
My own! my child! my own! my child! the jewel of my  
house!

To choose, is to choose evil—Hope? no hope.  
Disperse the fleet? Break the alliance up  
Of banded Greece? Were it not better thus?  
The wrath that claims this savage sacrifice,  
The cry, the infuriate cry, for virgin blood  
To calm the raging of the angry skies  
Is not Heaven's voice—is any thing but good.”

But when beneath the harness he had bent  
Of dread compulsion, breathing fell intent  
Impure, unholy, and within him died  
The human heart—his thoughts whirled round, until  
Lashed as by thwart gales of an alien will,  
He recklessly dared all things, all defied.  
Oh! from the wretched hour of man's first sin  
Infatuate, when man takes counsel of  
Evil, in that full stream flows evil in!—  
Unhappy! thus did he endure to be  
The shedder of his daughter's virgin life,  
To aid these wars waged for a faithless wife—  
Is this the promised rite of spousal love?  
This wedlock of the Navy with the Sea?—  
The peers, impatient for the battle strife,  
Take heed not of her prayers, or of her cries  
Of 'Father! Father!' the dread sacrifice  
Inexorably claiming of her life.  
The words of ritual celebration said,  
And all things perfected, the father bade  
The servants of the temple lift her high  
Over the altar like a death-doomed kid,  
From where she lay fallen prostrate on the ground,  
To which coiled up within herself she clung,  
Her fair form in the shrouding mantle hid—  
Bade guard her lovely lips, lest chance the tongue  
In anguish utter inauspicious cry—  
And so with violent thongs her lips they bound.  
And now she loosed the bridal veil that flowed  
In saffron folds to earth that slowly fall,  
And then with piercing arrows of the eye,  
That supplicated pity, smiting each  
Of the fierce men who came to see her die—  
There stood she forth, as in a picture stood,  
Beautiful, with those lips that breathed no sound;  
Seemed it as if she thought their hearts to reach,  
For oft and oft when in her father's hall  
She sang, they listened, when at his high board—



What time pure hands were spread to dedicate  
 The third libation to the god outpoured—  
 Calm happy virgin, heart inviolate !  
 And still her pæans hymned her father's praise,  
 And still her vows to Heaven sought for him length of days.

And then—but more I saw not, do not tell—  
 The skill of Calchas oft was tested well—  
 But why resort to the Diviner's art,  
 Secrets of the far future to impart ?  
 To see it were—ere grievance comes—to grieve.  
 Oh ! rather look into the human heart,  
 Look to the light that never can deceive.  
 Taught in affliction's school, the sufferer must  
 Feel Heaven's retributive awards are just.  
 Then to the Future, ere it comes, farewell !  
 The morning Sun will rise and every cloud dispel.

---

*Agamemnon*, 355-408.

CHORUS.

Zeus supreme ! and Night ! all glorious  
 Are the splendours that thou bringest—  
 Ilion fallen and Greece victorious—  
 Night of nights ! that o'er King Priam's  
 Town and tower thy broad net flingest.

Over young and old, wide-sweeping  
 Net of ruin Atè drew.  
 None the high verge overleaping,  
 None the meshes breaking through.

Zeus Xenios ! guardian thou of hearth and hall !  
 For this I honour thee—this more than all—  
 Long didst thou hold the bow of vengeance bent  
 'Gainst Alexander vindicating right,  
 So that the arrow did not fall down spent  
 Short of its mark—nor o'er the stars was sent  
 Wide, in its brilliant moment lost to sight.

The act was Jove's. Here Heaven's hand was not hid.  
 'Twas Paris suffering for what Paris did.  
 There is who saith, that the gods do not deign  
 To think of mortals when, with foot profane,  
 They tread things holy. Impious man ! and vain  
 His creed ! for in their children, well I ween,  
 Who breathe this insolent war, while they o'erflow  
 With wealth, the righteous gods make themselves seen  
 In sudden judgments. Oh ! could I but know  
 No riches beyond what suffice to give  
 A wise man unobstructedly to live !  
 In riches is no bulwark of defence  
 To him who would tread down with insolence  
 The altar of justice—him the gods give o'er  
 To darkness and oblivion evermore.  
 Daughter of Atë—counsellor of ill  
 Man's wretched Self-deceit to warp the will  
 And guide and goad him on to ruin still—  
 Disease, that cannot—will not be concealed,  
 Taints the whole nature never to be healed.  
 As bad brass in the market's wear and tear  
 Shows the black grain beneath the specious glare,  
 So is the down-fallen false man's glittering pride  
 Tested and tried, found worthless, flung aside.  
 Look at him like an idle boy pursuing,  
 As wanton fancies lead, the flying bird,  
 And to his native city bringing ruin.  
 Vain prayers of late remorse ! no god hath heard !  
 No aid from heaven, no help for their undoing !  
 And such was Paris, when the false guest came  
 To the Atridæ Palace—fatal day !  
 The friendly table staining with the shame  
 Of woman stolen away.

She left behind her to the dwellers here  
 The busy stir of preparation for  
 Revenge—the voices of the coming war,  
 The constant crash and clash of shield and spear,

The noises of the naval armament—  
 Ruin to Ilion bearing as her dower,  
 When light of heart swift through the gates she went,  
 Daring and desperate in that reckless hour.

---

*Choephoroe*, 22-83.

STROPHE I.

Forth from the palace, duly to fulfil  
 The office of libations to the dead,  
 This long procession hither have I led.  
 The quick, sharp beat of hands is clashing loud  
 And mourners' desolate wail.  
 My cheek with bleeding wounds is plough'd,  
 Fresh furrows of the nail.  
 My sinking heart is still  
 With lamentations fed.  
 The folded vest upon my breast,  
 The loose shreds of my flaxen dress  
 Rent in the throes of pain, attest  
 My utter wretchedness.

ANTISTROPHE I.

For Terror, thrilling through the upraised hair—  
 True prophet he, that in presaging dream  
 The palace haunts and hath his dwelling there—  
 From anger-breathing sleep  
 Woke in the dead time of the night a scream,  
 And, heard from far within, with heavy fall  
 Fell on the female chambers, felt by all.  
 The dream-diviners, pledg'd to man and Heaven,  
 Answer from the inspiring gods have given  
 That Those below the earth felt anger there,  
 And the slain call for vengeance on the slayer.

## STROPHE 2.

And one she sends, with loveless love sends one—  
The godless grasping woman, and would thus  
Avert the evil doom that threatens us.  
O Gaia! Maia! oh eternal Earth!  
Receive these offerings—but it will not be—  
Can I, how can I, utter ritual word?  
When expiation none is there for blood  
Fall'n on the ground. Alas! the mournful hearth!  
The undermined foundations of the good  
Old princely house! a sunless doom, abhorr'd  
Of all, broods there; an unremoving cloud  
Over his palace mourns the murdered lord.

## ANTISTROPHE 2.

Gone is the veneration that of yore  
Hallow'd the monarch—instinct unsubdued,  
Unwarr'd against—to love and to revere  
The Glorious, the Invincible, the Good.  
His name, his praises fill'd the public ear.  
'Tis now Prosperity that as a god,  
Yea more than god, men honour and adore.  
Prosperity the prosperous well may fear—  
Justice is swift to vindicate her right.  
What though guilt basks exulting in the light—  
Biding their time in the far shadow lurk  
Vengeful afflictions; suddenly the night  
Comes in which none can work.

## EPODE.

When Earth hath drunk blood violently spilt—  
Earth, the maternal nourisher of all—  
The clotted drops congeal, and from below,  
—Blood will have blood—for retribution call,  
And the originator of the guilt  
Fell Até with immedicable ill  
Pursues—inherited disease—as though  
The murderer lived in his descendants still.

For violation of the nuptial bed  
No reparation—expiation none ;

Done cannot be undone.

Let all Earth's rivers in one current run—  
To cleanse the ineradicable stain .  
Of her polluted hand with murder red,  
The purifying waters flow in vain.

My native city captured, the gods gave  
Another home, and I am here a slave.  
Far from my father's home my home is now,

And I must to a bidding bow,  
Must champ down my disgust, nor dare to raise  
A voice no longer free, but in their praise.  
Just, or unjust, no murmur of distrust  
May the slave breathe, he listens and obeys.  
Thus crush'd into myself by numbing fear,  
I mourn—mourn for the Prince the coming bale  
That darkly threatens all. Behind my veil,  
Apart—alone—I pour the bitter tear.

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# HERMATHENA.



## A STELE FROM ASWÂN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.<sup>1</sup>

THE tall cippus of speckled granite which was found in Aswân in 1886 was partially copied by me *in situ*, some of it being still underground. Then Mr. Sayce took a hurried copy, which he published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for 1887. Then, fortunately, the stone was brought to the British Museum, and Mr. C. Torr said some things not worth criticising about it in the *Classical Review*. Wilcken has since touched it with his usual ability, in the *Wochenschrift für Klass. Philologie* for July, 1888, but has given no transcription; so that we are still in need of a fuller account of this important text. In April, 1895, I brought Mr. Sayce's copy to the British Museum, and verified it with Professor Wilcken's corrections, by a careful collation, as far as l. 53, making some further alterations in the readings. The lower portion (ll. 53-76), which is extremely worn with weather, was not to be deciphered in the very unfavourable position the stone now occupies in the British Museum. This portion I have studied with the aid of a squeeze very kindly prepared for

<sup>1</sup> For the text, see pp. 284 *seq.*

me by the order of Dr. Budge. The result is that I have deciphered the remains of ll. 54-60 pretty completely. The rest is so effaced that I have read little more than the final words of the remaining text, but have fortunately thus discovered the dates of the last three of the ten documents contained in the inscription.

It is to be observed that this great slab, about 9 or 10 feet high, was rounded at the top, and a group of conventional figures, representing Chnum, Satis, and Anukis (so Wilcken), occupied the highest place. Then came the text in large and very well cut characters, each successive document being separated by a blank interval from the previous one. This stone was sawn vertically into three shafts to be used for door-posts (as the deep holes in the extant piece, sunk in a vertical line for bars, testify), and we have recovered only the central one. The problem how much is lost at the beginning and end of each line is not easy to solve, as will appear in the sequel; and yet on this depends much of our interpretation.

There is no doubt about the king and his date, and that Mr. Torr was in error about it. It is the year 115 B.C., the second year of the reign of Ptolemy Philometor Soter II. (Lathyrus), and of his mother Cleopatra III., the widow of Euergetes II.<sup>1</sup> This appears with certainty from the opening of Document VI. (l. 39).

The first document (ll. 1-14) is, therefore, a statement that this king ascended the river to the first cataract; that there he was met in state by all the officials of the district and the priests of the local temples, and that having performed all the proper sacrifices to the gods of Elephantine, and more particularly to the Nile—he seems from l. 8 to have undertaken a visit to the alleged source—having also been duly feasted at the temple of Hera (identified

<sup>1</sup> Wilcken (*op. cit.*) holds that of 116 B.C.; hence the date would be Soter II. only succeeded in the end. 115-4.

with Satis) he granted certain benevolences to the temples and to the officials which shall make his name remembered for ever as a benefactor of the place. The date Mesore (June, or harvest time in Egypt) appears at the commencement and close of the text (in the second case the 9th day), and in the second year of the double reign. This then was the time of his visit, just before the inundation.

From the double date (l. 35) in Macedonian and Egyptian months we can prove that at this time Mesore corresponded to Hyperberetæus, so that Documents II. and III., which show this month, and Document X., which shows (the same year and) Mesore, were issued at the same time and during the visit. There is no doubt about their general import. The king grants, as a favour to commemorate his visit, certain immunities and endowments to the priests of the local god Chnoubo Nebieb (great Chnum, lord of Elephantine), with whom sundry of the Ptolemies are associated as *θεοὶ σόονοι* (ll. 15-25). Acting officially through his representative, the governor Phomous (or -outis), the king sends him a copy of his indulgence to the priests, with orders to have it duly carried out. The scribe was going (l. 31) to add a very usual formula, which occurs later (l. 52), but stopped short, finding he was wrong.

Such being the undoubted tenor of ll. 1-30, let us consider some of the difficulties of detail, which will, I trust, some day be removed by finding either, or both, of the remaining parts. I wonder has Elephantine ever been explored with the spade? I think not.

It seems to me certain that the queen-mother did not accompany the young king (cf. *ἐὺωχῆθείς*, l. 11) on this visit. Considering the well-known dislike she had for him, she probably spent the time of his absence from Alexandria in those intrigues with which she was ever

persecuting her elder son. L. 4, Wilcken proposes θ]εοκτιστον. Before I knew of his suggestion I had set down ν]εοκτιστον, which I consider equally probable. That there were old shrines on the island is quite certain. But that the island could have been a penal settlement, as it was in Alexander's day, and also a town (Strabo says πόλις), is not likely. It is quite possible that it may have been declared a πόλις by the ninth Ptolemy, and so these festivities would be natural in the newly-constituted place (cf. l. 11). Until we have more of the text these can only be called conjectures. Ll. 8-10 seem to say that he made an expedition, with his retinue, to what was deemed the source of the Nile. L. 9 was hitherto read ονομα το με[γα, but the ζ is quite plain, and led me to make the correction. L. 12, which speaks of the φιλανθρωπα, probably goes on to say that the king permitted them to be recorded on a stone monument, αναστησαι στηλην στεριου λιθου, or something of the kind. The inf. επιχωρησαι occurs elsewhere (cf. p. 278) in this formula. It is frequently used in Greek of this date for *making concessions*: cf. l. 22, and also Pet. Pap. ii. 108, l. 8, as if συγχωρειω did not sufficiently imply the spontaneity of the gift coming from the king alone. L. 13, the βασ[ may be the reigning queen, or it may be βασιλεως θεου Ευεργετου, who had been, as we shall see, concerned with some of these indulgences.

L. 14 is part of the usual good wishes—May they enjoy their sovereignty for all time, controlling their empire according to their heart's desire—or something of the sort.

Turning to Document II., we come upon an interesting heading. In the first place, did βασίλισσα Κλεοπατρα come at the beginning of l. 15? If so, we should have had, in l. 1, βασίλισσα Κλεοπατρα θεα Ευεργετις και βασιλεως Πτολεμαιος ο μ[ for the opening of the line, and this would make it of enormous length, especially as it is in far larger

characters than the following. But here in l. 15, where we have merely βασι. Πτολ., there would be, if so, only required βασιλισσα Κλειοπατρα και βασιλευς Πτολε[ ], which is much too short, for the letters in l. 1 are certainly as large and widely spaced as those in l. 15. But this difficulty is increased when we come to fill up the titles of the priests. Seeing that the whole series of the Ptolemies were usually created σύνναοι with the local gods, we should have the following words to supply the end of l. 15, and the opening of l. 16, το[υ Χνουβω Νεβιηβ (και Αλεξανδρου και θεων Σωτηρων) και θεων Φιλαδελφων και θεων Ευεργετων και θεων Φιλοπατορων και θεων E], that is to say, 99 letters. Adding the 31 letters of l. 15, we get 120 letters as the length of the line, and this where it is widely spaced, as is usual at the opening of each document. Such being the case, we should have, allowing for the loss of a couple of letters in the cutting of the saw, one-fourth only of the stone in width, and so only one-fourth of the text! Let us apply the same arguments to ll. 16, 17. We must supply (according to l. 33), [υ Φιλομητορων και θεου Νεου Φιλοπατορος και θεου Ευεργετου και[ Only 53 letters! It also seems certain from l. 32 that Alexander, at least, was omitted from the list. I cannot therefore but think that we have before us, in these three lists of the Ptolemaic series of deified ancestors, an incomplete enumeration, probably beginning with the gods Philadelphi (so also Wilcken).<sup>1</sup> Thus we should have, ll. 32-3, [υ Φιλαδελφων και θεων Ευεργετων και θεων Φιλοπατορων και θεου Ευπατορος και θεων φιλο], 73 letters, corresponding exactly to the first list, when so reduced, as I have indicated above by brackets. This gives an average of 103·5 letters for the line, and shows that we have about one-third of it, which agrees with what we might expect the dividers of the stone to have done. They cut it into

<sup>1</sup> We have an example of this in the priesthood of Amon ra Sonther, at

Thebes: cf. Lepsius' essay in the Berlin Academy (1852) on these priesthoods.

three lengths of equal width. In attempting restorations, therefore, this is the amount we have to supply at each side of the present remnant. In the larger writing, such as ll. 16, 17, where the middle portion holds only 29 letters, we should supply fore and aft, in all, 58, or even less, allowing for a space before the word *χαιρειν*.

To return to the sense of Document II. The king rehearses that, having gone up to the boundaries of Egypt and Ethiopia, and being desirous that the gods of these places should have their accustomed offerings (the ξ is a blunder of the graver):—in l. 20, as in Rosetta Inscription, l. 31, *των ανηκοντων* refers to 'what comes to' the gods (their dues). Whether should we read *προς τε τα*[, or *προστετα*[γμενα, or *προστετα*[κται?

At all events, he proceeds: 'we give (for these offerings) the following contribution,' *συνταξις* being the technical word for the religious budget of the Ptolemies:—*ὧν κατ' ἔτος*, 'of the yearly produce (of the country), some lost amount, and 200 artabæ (of wheat?) free. And we permit you to set up statues both of the king and queen, in order to show your loyalty and affection for us.' I think this supplement more likely, on account of the recurrence of the mention of the queen, than simply to adopt the words of the parallel Bankes' stele (C) *εν οἱς επιχωρησαι ημιν αναθειναι στηλην εν ηι αναγραφομεν την—φιλανθρωπιαν ινα υμετερα χαρις αιμνηστος υπαρχηι*; and to this the reply is found in (A) of the same stele, *επιχωρουμεν δ υμιν την αναθεισιν ης ηξιουτε στηλης*.

I think that however parallel, the setting up of statues is here intended, at least in l. 12.

L. 23. Wilcken suggested at the end *και Σ[ατισιον*, owing to the juxtaposition of Chnoubo and Satis in the stele of the isle of Dionysus, the former being identified with Ammon, the latter with Hera. Possibly it is here that the mention of the stele came:—*επιχωρουμεν δε* on the

temple of Chnoub, &c., to set up an inscription as evidence of your loyalty to us.' But if so, I cannot fill the gaps, as I have done, satisfactorily.

L. 25. Though but the last letter remains of the valediction, we can restore it with perfect certainty as *ερρωσθε*, not as *ευτυχειτε*, which occurs in l. 50. For, according to the law I have recently established from a comparison of many instances, *the former word is always used to inferiors*—hence, without exception, by kings to their subjects—whereas *the latter is the more humble address always used to superiors*. All petitions to higher officials or royal personages are so worded. In every case but one the opening formula follows a corresponding law. You say *βασιλευς Πτολ τωι δεινα χαιρειν*, and end with *ερρωσο*. You say *βασιλει Πτολ παρα του δεινα χαιρειν*, or something more ceremoniously polite, as in ll. 54–5 of this inscription, and end with *ευτυχει*. The only exception to this law is a curious confirmation of it. When you address your father (possibly in p. 43 of the B. M. *Papyri* an elder brother) you begin *familiarly* *Πολυκρατης τωι πατρι χαιρειν*, but end with the more ceremonious *ευτυχει*, thus showing the combination of familiarity and respect due to that relation. The foregoing law enables us, in fragmentary papyri, to tell at once, from either opening or ending, the relative social standing of the respective correspondents.

Document III. (ll. 26–30) offers little difficulty. We can fill up most of the losses with certainty, nor can the few remaining gaps have contained any new matter. But I much doubt, from the number of letters required, that both queen and king appeared at the opening of the first line, which was probably shorter than the rest.

(*βασιλισσα Κλεοπατρα και βασιλευς Πτολεμαιος*] *Φομμοντι τωι*  
*αδελφωι χαιρειν ερρωμεθα* [*δε και ημεις*  
*υποταξαμεν αντιγραφον ε*] *πιστολης προς τους εν Ελεφαντινη ιερεις.*  
*[του Χνουβω Νεβιηβ και θεων Φιλαδελφων και θεων*



Ευεργετων και θεων Φιλοπατορων και θεων Επιφ]ανων και θεου Ευπα-  
 τορος και θεων Φιλομητο[ρων και θεου νεου Φιλοπατορος και θεου  
 Ευεργετου και θεων Φιλομητορων Σωτηρω]ν καλως ον ποιησεις συνταξας  
 προνοηθην[αι οπως ταυτα ως καλλιστα συντελειωθῃ  
 [18 letters] και επιμελομενο]ς εν υγιανηις ερρωσο ετους δευτερου Υπερ  
 [βερεταιου \* Μεσορη \*

Wilcken, stating that the young king ascended the throne between this date and the earlier date (by four months) of the succeeding document, seems to imply that the latter was ordered by Cleopatra alone? But was the former by her son alone?

Fortunately the list in IV. enables us to fill up with certainty the gaps of the list in III., and this restoration agrees perfectly with the complete lists recovered this year by Mr. Grenfell in several documents of the same reign, indeed almost of the same year.

The main difficulty about Document IV. (ll. 32-5) is the date. It is four months earlier than the main transaction in Mesore; and here we have another of those double dates (Macedonian and Egyptian months) which will ultimately enable us to determine the variations of the two calendars, unless, indeed, by this time the two calendars had been harmonized, which is not improbable. Wilcken here reads (l. 35) not τε[ταρτη, but τρ[ιτη.

The sense of this part of the text can hardly be anything else than—'Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy to the priests of Chnoubo Nebieb and the deified Ptolemies, greeting: we have written to Phommous (or to Hermokrates?), the Strategus and Epistrategus, regarding the applications, or petitions, which have come before us from the officials at Syene.' As all the following minutes refer to a new transaction, I cannot but think that the present document was written in reply to a separate and special application, and that it reached the Court when preparations were being made for the State progress to Syene.

But, unfortunately, not a word of the special matter has been here preserved.

Document V. is an order to a second high official, Hermokrates, directing him to carry out the request of the petitioners, who are in this case not priests, but officials, who had some special occupation (probably quarrying) at Syene, but performed the household duty of the Court. How this can have been the case, especially before the king's visit, is hard to imagine; but as the document immediately following is evidently that which these people had sent up to the Crown, we may consider it at once.

Document VI. then is a formal address to the reigning queen and king, the gods Philometores Soteres, from the officials on duty at the mountain over Syene (one cannot but conjecture in the famous granite quarries), setting forth the antiquity and importance of their place of residence (what are we to supply to λογ[ in l. 41, specifying the sanctity of the island called Psoa?).<sup>1</sup> In order to keep up its privileges or dignities, possibly in opposition to those of Elephantine, they had made application to the late king, and they desire that the indulgences granted by him shall be confirmed. 'We pray you, therefore, victorious and ever-living gods, if it seems right to you, to send orders to Phommouti [or Hermocrates], your cousin, and strategus, and epistrategus of the Thebaid, to take the necessary steps, and your petitioners will ever pray—.'

Document VII.—The sovrans send a copy of this missive to their governor, adding that the petitioners had appended copies of the correspondence with the late king. These minutes are enclosed in order that he may be able to carry out the details in accordance with the wishes of the petitioners.

Document VIII. is the older petition from the officials working in the mountain at Syene to the late Ptolemy Euergetes II. and his wife, Kleopatra III. It is not likely

<sup>1</sup> λογμων seems to be only used by Herodotus.

that his sister, Kleopatra II., was in the address (though we should have expected to find it at this late date of the king's reign), because her name would increase the opening of l. 53 to the excessive amount of 50 letters, there being the usual number 43 in the central third. It is far more likely that this opening line was much shorter than the rest, and began with a vacant space. The politenesses of this petition are elaborate. The officials about Syene offer all good wishes to the king and queen, probably also victory and immortality, and to their children health and long life. I am not aware that the word *εὐνηρία*, occurring once in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, is found in any other of these complimentary formulæ. Hence there was no small difficulty in deciphering it. What the next lines mean I cannot tell with certainty. They state the antiquity and importance of the shrines at Elephantine, and its remote and desolate position on the wild borders of Æthiopia. Hence they petition some privileges, apparently the right to cultivate the land of some of the islands, and special allowances for the farmers who undertake it. My restoration of the gaps in l. 60 is, of course, most uncertain, and from that line onward the stone is so weathered that any connected reading is impossible. But luckily the remnant of the date (l. 66), aided by the remnant of the date of King Euergetes's reply, which follows (l. 71), makes it certain that this transaction took place in the 53rd year of Euergetes II., hence not more than three years before the date of the whole inscription, which concludes with a brief order from the reigning sovran to their governors.

Euergetes II. seems to have died in the month Payni of his 54th year (as the great Edfu text tells us), the end of which would count as the first year of the new king.

Towards the end most of the characters are totally effaced. The whole document, however, has much historical interest. It shows us that Euergetes II. was actively governing the upper country in the very last year

of his life. It tells us that Soter II. visited his southern frontier near the opening of his reign, and very possibly owing to some disturbances in the upper country, after his father's death. In Papyrus CCCCI. of the British Museum, which I have deciphered and printed in *HERMATHENA* (July, 1895), the heirs under a will drawn up by an inhabitant of the Libyan bank over against Thebes in 127 B.C. complain in 115 B.C. (the very year of this visit) that they had been debarred from enjoying their heritage on the opposite (Arabian) side of the river, *ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀμειξίας καιροῖς*, so that intercourse must have been stopped during some short time (*καιροῖς*) between these two years. The most natural moment would be when the old king died, and there was some uncertainty as to the succession, for the queen-mother asserted her rights, and endeavoured even to oust her eldest son.

If the elder Cleopatra (II.) be really omitted in the dating of a document in her brother's 53rd year, it is remarkable, as we have other documents of that date in which it appears. This would corroborate my belief that these ceremonial datings are not to be strictly taken, and that a name might easily be omitted from them, or added, by mistake. In the present case, however, I take the omission to have been intentional. With the opening of the reign of Soter II. and his mother, her mother disappears from all current documents. Whether she died at that time, or was deposed, is not quite certain. The fact that in l. 32 we have *θεοῦ* [*Εὐεργετοῦ*, and not the plural, only points to the younger queen being still alive. The secretaries would probably caution the gravers of a petition addressed to the queen regent, even in copying an older date, to leave out the name of the deposed queen (her mother), in order that her former status might be as soon as possible forgotten.

## DOCUMENT I.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ Μ]ΕΓΑΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΩ[Ρ ΚΑΙ ΩΤΗΡ

μ]εσορρι του δευτερου ετους εξησε[

τω]ν τοπων παντες απητησαν μετα στ[ρατηγων

ν]εοκτιστον πολιν Ελεφαντινην πρω[

ε]ποιησατο τας πρεπουσας θυσιας κ[αι

]ο μεγας θεος Νειλος ανηκει ελθω]ν

ιδρυσ?]ατο βωμου τηι τε μεγαστη θεαι Ηραι τελ[

]ν παραλαβων δε τους συγγενεις και το[υς φίλους

]εν αις η του Νειλου πηγη ονομαζομε[νη

]υρας και αποδους τωι Νειλωι τα νομιζ[ομενα

]ων ευωχηθεις επι του Ηραιου τηι τε εκτ[ισμενηι πολει?

φιλ]ανθρωπα περι ων επιχωρησαι αναστησ[αι? στηλην, οτ εικονας

α]ειμνηστον το ονομα αυτου τε και βασ[ιλισσης Κλεοπατρας?

]αρχη εις τον απαντα χρονον κυριενουσι τ[ης

6

10

## DOCUMENT II.

15 βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς ἐν Ἐλεφαντινῇ ἱερεῦσι τοῖς

Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπατορος καὶ θεῶν Φιλομητορῶν &c.

χαίρειν παραγεγονότες εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς τοποὺς

Ἰδ' ἐπὶ τῆς συνορίας τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ ἔχο[

κ]ατα λόγον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νομιζομ[ενα

20 τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι προστάτα[

τὴν ὑπ' ὀκειμένην συντάξιν δίδομεν ὡν κατ' ἐτος[

ἀν]εῖν τιμῆς ἀρταβᾶς διακοσίας ἐπιχωροῦμεν[ας ἡδὴ ὑπο Βας. Πτολ. θεοῦ

Εὐεργ. καὶ Βας. Κλεοπάτ]ρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Χνουβίου καὶ Σ[ατίου ?

π]ρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίαν καὶ μεγαλομέρως ἐπὶ τοῖ

25 ἐρρωσθ]ε εἰς δευτέρου ὑπερβερεταιοῦ[

## DOCUMENT III.

Βασίλειος Πτολεμαῖος] Φορμουτι τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαιρεῖν ἐρρωμεθα[δε καὶ ἡμεῖς &c.  
 υποτέταχαμεν ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐλεφαντινῇ ἱερεῖ[s  
 καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφ]ανῶν καὶ θεοῦ Ἐνπατορος καὶ θεῶν Φιλομητο[ρων  
 ]ν καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις συντάξας προνοηθῆν[αι  
 ἐπιμελομένο]s ἡ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐρρωσο ἐτοὺς δευτέρου νπε[ρβερεταιου  
 blank ὑπεταγή η π blank 30

## DOCUMENT IV.

Βασ. Πτολ. τοῖς ἐν] Ἐλεφαντινῇ ἱερευσὶ τοῦ Χνουβω Νεβηβ καὶ θεῶ[ν Ἀδελφῶν, &c.  
 Φιλο]μητορῶν καὶ θεοῦ Νεου Φιλοπατορος καὶ θεοῦ [Ευεργετου  
 στ]ρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπιστρατηγῶν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σύ[νην  
 ετου]s δευτέρου δαΐσιου τρίτῃ φαρμουθι τε[ταρτῇ 35

## DOCUMENT V.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙ ΤΩΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΙΝ Τ[  
 ον]των παρεχομένων δε τας ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ χρεῖ[as  
 γ]νεσθω οὖν καθαπερ ἀξίουσι ἐρρωσο

## DOCUMENT VI.

θ]εις φιλομητορσι σωτηρσι χαιρειν οι απο[  
 ]ι επι του κατα Σηνήν ορους τας χρείας[ 40  
 ]τι εξ αρχαιων και οϊτος των πρωτων λογ[  
 ]ηι ιερας γης νησου καλουμενης Ψωαν ιερω[  
 ]ενοι δε την ταυτης προστασιαν δια παχ[  
 ]ο των αλλων των τον τοπον κατοικουν[των  
 ]ελειν ανατεθηναι δε και εν τω επισ[ 45  
 πε?]ριγεγονοτα υπο του πατρος φιλανθρωπ[α  
 υπο ]του πατρος προστεταγμενα και περι η[  
 δεομεθ ουν υμων] θεων νικηφορων και αιωνοβιων ει δοκε[ι υμιν προσταξαι  
 φοιμουτι συγγε]νει και στρατηγωι και επιστρατηγωι της θ[η]βαιδος  
 χαρ]ιτας οφειλομεν ευτυχετε 50

## DOCUMENT VII.

ΕΠΙΣΤ]ΟΛΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΥΠΟΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΟΠΩΣ ΚΑΤΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΗ[  
 υ]πεταγή η προκειμενη επιστο[λη



## DOCUMENT VIII.

]και βασιλισση Κλεοπατραι τη γυναικι] θεοις Ευεργ[εταις  
 ]οι επι του κατ[α] Σνηνην ορους π[ολλ]α ειπομεν ευ[ 55  
 ] . . . ιν και τοις τεκνοις υγεια[ν τε κα]ι ευημεριαν ν[  
 Ελ[εφαντινη] ιερου δεδοξασμενου εξ αρχαιων και[  
 ]ς και ανστηροις τοποις παροριοις τη Αιθιοπια θ[  
 προτ[?]ερα της παρ νμων μεγαλομερειας προηγημεθα προ[  
 θεω]ι Χνουμω Ν[εβιηβ] γεωργουμενης δ εις το εν Ελ[εφαντινη] ? 60  
 ε]κφοριοις κα[ι φορ]τιο[ις των] γεωρ[γ]ων ε[ν]αι ως κατε[  
 τ]ωι ιερωι η[ γίμει υπ]ογεγραμμενην  
 ]τ ασκα . . . . . ην . . . η . . . α[ργυ]ρικας επιγρα[ψ]ασθ[αι  
 ]ηρισθηε ρητος και γραμματεως[  
 ]θεσε α καταπληξ[ειν των]  
 ]θειν και . . . . . ερι . . . . . ν τη Ελεφ[αντινη 65  
 ( Here a blank.) ε[τ]ους τριτ[ου και πεντηκοστου

gap.

DOCUMENT IX.

α]πο Συνης ακ[  
μ . αυθις ι[

. . . . .

ιτ . . . . . εν

ετους τριτου και π]ευτηκοστου

70

*gap.*

DOCUMENT X.

αι . ως εν τ[οι]ς . π[

εν[δεδ]ωκασι μ[οι γ]ραμμ[ατα

κ[αι] οι[κ]ομομηθησετα[ι

θικης

ερρωσο (blank) [ετους δευτ]ερου [με]σορη ενατ[ηι

75

*This is a letter from the king, winding up the whole business.  
The left side of IX. and X. is utterly effaced.*

Among the puzzles regarding the accession of Soter II. is the statement of Justin (xxxix. 3) about his wives. When the Alexandrians insist upon his coronation as joint ruler with his mother (Cleopatra III.), she *prius quam regnum daret, uxorem adimit compulsisque repudiare carissimam sibi uxorem Cleopatram, minorem sororem Selenen uxorem ducere jubet, &c.* The imperious will of a hostile mother could hardly have dictated such proceedings were there not some State reasons to support them. I have observed that it is against the practice of the Ptolemaic court for crown princes to marry, even when they had attained to middle life, whereas kings marry as soon as their age permits them. From this I am led to infer that children born of a prince and princess not actually reigning were considered not fully royal, and hence not legitimate heirs to the throne. This would account for the divorce of any previous wife, and a new marriage, as soon as a crown prince succeeded. It would also account for the frequent mention of *illegitimate* children, who, nevertheless, have some claims, at times successful, to reign. If this hypothesis be established it will explain many difficulties in the family history of the Ptolemies.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

## DE VARIIS FORMIS EUANGELII LUCANI.

PRIORE commentatione<sup>1</sup> postquam evincere studui, euangeliorum omnium praeter Lucanum eam esse condicionem, ut quaecumque in eis exstant variae apud varios testes lectiones non probent ab auctoribus ipsis ea pluribus exemplis scripta fuisse: relinquitur ut in Lucanum paullo accuratius inquiramus. Id enim euangelium et propter Actorum societatem suspicionem praebebat diversae ab reliquis omnibus condicionis, et inspectantibus nobis inter molem variarum lectionem non pauca neque obscura vestigia alterius cuiusdam formae servare visum est, quae non minus quam haec vulgata notaque ab ipso Luca repetenda esset. Est autem operae pretium quaerere, numquid certius magisque definitum de re tam gravi cognoscere liceat.

Atque initium capiendum esse videtur a loco quodam iam in superiore commentatione commemorato, qui est c. 23, 12. Eius loci hae visae sunt exstare duae recensiones.

α (ceteri testes).

Ἐγένοντο δὲ φίλοι ὃ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Πιλάτος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετ' ἀλλήλων· προὔπῃρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες πρὸς ἑαυτούς.

β (D, c).

Ὅντες δὲ ἐν ἀηδίᾳ ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐγένοντο φίλοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

Est eadem plane in utraque forma sententia; sed forma ipsa est altera diffusior, altera adstrictior, vulgaribus altera verbis concepta, altera unum saltem lectius vocabulum

<sup>1</sup> V. prioris volum. p. 121-143.

(ἀηδία) continens. Hanc interpolatori nemo tribuet; illam, tot tantisque testibus innixam, quis audebit? Itaque si est, id quod unum relinquitur, utraque a Luca profecta: utra prior iudicanda erit, utra posterior? An id quidem dubium esse nequit, quin forma  $\beta$  posterior sit iudicanda? Hoc autem non potest non mirum accidere. Nempe in Actis contrariam plane inter duas recensiones rationem esse cognovimus, priorem utique atque rudiores esse  $\beta$  formam, posteriorem atque emendatam  $\alpha$ : unde putavimus recensionem  $\beta$  ab illo commentario fortasse repeti posse, quod in suum usum Lucas primitus conscripserat, at  $\alpha$  ab exemplo emendato, quod Theophilo misit. Verum tamen cum hoc quidem loco contraria species sit, id sequamur quod apparet examinemusque alios quoque locos, quorum tantus exstat numerus: in quibus si eadem haec species apparebit, secundum τὰ φαινόμενα de causis quae latent coniecturam facere oportebit.

## CAP. V. 5 sqq.

 $\alpha$  (cett. testes).

. . . ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ῥήματί σου χαλᾶσω τὰ δίκτυα. (6) καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες συνέκλεισαν πλῆθος ἰχθύων πολὺ· διεμήσσετο δὲ τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν. (7) καὶ κατένευσαν τοῖς μετόχοις ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ πλοίῳ, τοῦ ἐλθόντας συλλαβέσθαι αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἦλθαν, καὶ ἐπλησαν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ πλοῖα, ὥστε βυθίζεσθαι αὐτά.

 $\beta$  (D, e).

. . . ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ῥήματί σου οὐ μὴ παρακούσομαι (intermittimus e). (6) καὶ ἐὺθὺς χαλᾶσαντες τὰ δίκτυα συνέκλεισαν ἰχθύων πλῆθος πολὺ (π. om. e), ὥστε τὰ δίκτυα ῥήσσεσθαι (αὐτῶν add. e). (7) καὶ κατένευσαν τοῖς μετόχοις ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ πλοίῳ, τοῦ ἐλθόντας βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς· ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπλησαν ἀμφοτέρα τὰ πλοῖα, ὥστε παρὰ τι βυθίζεσθαι.<sup>1</sup>

Nolo inmorari huic παρά τι, cuius non est aliud in N. T. exemplum; facile enim et id et ἤδη (quod eodem loco habet C\*) ab interpolatione repeti potest. Sed bis pro constructione paratactica hypotactica est in D: ὥστε τὰ δίκτυα ἐλθόντες οὖν. Atque οὖν cum participio coniunc-

<sup>1</sup> Syr. Sin. (Lew.) praeter proprias quasdam lectiones cum  $\alpha$  facit, nisi

quod 7 extr. habet καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βάρους τοῦ βυθίζεσθαι.

tum cum vix exstet in euangelio Lucae,<sup>1</sup> in eiusdem Actis non infrequens est; compares maxime A. 25, 17, συνελθόντων οὖν αὐτῶν ἐνθάδε. Itaque hic locus eius quem primum proposuimus consimilis est.

IBID. V. 8 sqq.

α (cett. testes).

(8) ἰδὼν δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος προσέπε-  
σεν τοῖς γόνασιν Ἰησοῦ λέγων· ἔξελθε  
ἀπ' ἐμοῦ . . . (9) θάμβος γὰρ περι-  
έσχεν αὐτὸν καὶ πάντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ  
ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγρᾷ . . . , (10) ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
'Ιάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου, οἱ  
ἦσαν κοινῶν τῷ Σίμωνι. καὶ εἶπεν  
πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα ὁ Ἰησοῦς· μὴ φοβοῦ·  
ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν.  
(11) καὶ καταγαγόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τὴν  
γῆν, ἀφέντες πάντα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.<sup>5</sup>

R (D, e).

(8) ὁ δὲ Σίμων (ἰδὼν add. e) προσ-  
έπεσεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶν λέγων·  
παρακαλῶ<sup>2</sup> (σε add. e) ἔξελθε ἀπ'  
ἐμοῦ . . . (9) θάμβος γὰρ περιέσχεν  
(habebat e) αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγρᾷ . . .  
(10) ἦσαν δὲ κοινῶν οἱ αὐ-  
τοῦ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης υἱοὶ Ζεβε-  
δαίου.<sup>3</sup> ὁ δὲ (quī e) εἶπεν αὐτοῖς  
(e ut a). δεῦτε καὶ (δ. καὶ om. e) μὴ  
γίνεσθε ἁλιεῖς ἰχθύων· ποι-  
ήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώ-  
πων. (11) οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες  
πάντα κατέλειψαν<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς  
γῆς καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.

Perstat in indole sua recensio β, maximeque ambages hae alterius: καὶ πάντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ—ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰακ. κτέ., in β vitatae sunt. In proximis (ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων) est aliqua rec. β cum Matthaeo Marcoque similitudo, sed non tanta, ut ex his lectio β repeti possit. Aptius autem ad omnes in β refertur, quod in α ad Simonem tantum: praesertim cum clausula (v. 11) et in α et β de omnibus dicta sit.<sup>5</sup>

Proxima quoque narratio (12–16), quae est de homine leproso, brevior forma est in β quam in α; sed cum apud Matthaeum quoque et Marcum exstet, possint quaedam ex his repeti, sicut est in v. 14 manifestissime D ex Marco

<sup>1</sup> Παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω, xxiii., 16. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Act. 8, 24 β.

<sup>3</sup> Sec. e v. 9 καὶ πάντας . . . αὐτῷ ut α; add. ibi e ante ἐπὶ in miratione ad eo, habetque 10 similiter fuerunt

socii Jacobus, etc., quae coniuncta aliam efficiunt lect. in miratione similiter fuerunt, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Act. vi. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. Sin. fere ut α.

interpolatus. Valde autem quae excipiunt (v. 17) in *a* et *β* discrepant :

*a* (cett. testes, et Syr. Sin.)

καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ αὐτοὶς ἦν διδάσκων, καὶ ἦσαν καθήμενοι Φαρισαῖοι καὶ νομοδιδάσκαλοι, οἳ ἦσαν ἐληλυθότες ἐκ πάσης κώμης τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ δύναμις κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτόν (αὐτοὺς A C al., vulg. al.).

*β* (D, e).

καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν, αὐτοῦ διδάσκοντος (*loquente e*), συνελθεῖν τοὺς Φαρισαίους καὶ νομοδιδασκάλους. ἦσαν δὲ συνεληλυθότες (*advenientes e*) ἐκ πάσης κώμης τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας, τοῦ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτούς.

Primum omnium rec. *a* gravi vitio est liberanda. Non enim profecto Pharisei et legisperiti ex omni vico Galilaeae Iudaeaeque convenerant, sed aegroti; recte igitur in *κ* omissum οἱ, recipiendum autem ex De ἦσαν δὲ, nisi forte καὶ pro οἱ reponendum. In *β* scribas ἐληλυθότες ex *e*; idem *e* et καὶ Ἱερ. exhibet et καὶ δύναμις κτέ.<sup>1</sup> sicut *a*. Astrictiorem esse lectionem *β* sua sponte patet.—Rursus in proximis (ut 19. 27) sunt in De vel D solo complura e Marco interpolata; in 29 notanda lectio De ἀνακειμένων pro οἱ ἦσαν μετ' αὐτοῦ κατακείμενοι.

#### C. VI. 6.

*a* (cett. testes).

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ἐτέρῳ σαββάτῳ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ διδάσκειν. καὶ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἡ δεξιὰ ἦν ξηρά· (7) παρετηροῦντο δὲ (αὐτὸν) οἱ γραμματεῖς.

*β* (D).

καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν σαββάτῳ, ἐν ᾗ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ξηρὰν ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα, παρετηροῦντο αὐτὸν οἱ γραμματεῖς.

In v. 8 D b f γινώσκων pro ᾗδαι . . . καὶ; v. 17 D καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων ἐληλυθότων pro καὶ Ἱεροσ. καὶ τῆς παραλίου Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, οἱ ἦλθον (c e goth. add. καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων post Σιδ., e contaminatione).—VII., 1 *a*: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καφ.; *β*: καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε (D b ff<sup>2</sup> g<sup>1</sup> l q; ἐγ. δὲ ὅτε *a* c syr. post. mg.; interpolatum sit ἐγ., quo caret *e*) ἐτέλεσεν (D c e) ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα (D: τὰ ῥήμ. *e*, πάντα τὰ ῥ. *a* c al.) λαλῶν (D; *quae*

<sup>1</sup> Om. καὶ δύν. κ. ἦν cum D etiam Monac. X.

*loquebatur* e), ἦλθεν (D) εἰς K. Cf. Act. 13, 29 a ὡς δὲ ἐτέλεσαν πάντα; sed etiam Luc. 2, 39 al.—VII., 18 narratio de Johanne Baptista (καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Ἰωάνη οἱ μαθηταὶ κτέ.) prioribus hunc in modum in D (e) adiuncta: (17) ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος (οὗτος ὁ λ. D e) ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ (haec περὶ . . . περιχ. om. e<sup>1</sup>): (18) ἐν οἷς καὶ μέχρι Ἰωάνου τοῦ βαπτ. (e *in quibus adnuntiaverunt ad I. B.*) (19), ὃς καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος κτέ. Hoc ἐν οἷς recedit ab reliqui euangelii usu (quamquam conferas XII., 1), sed in Actis est (XXVI., 11 sq.): ἐδίωκον ἕως καὶ εἰς τὰς ἑξω πόλεις. ἐν οἷς πορευόμενος εἰς Δαμασκόν.—Sed in proximis paullo uberior est narratio in β (De): ὃς καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος δύο (δύο om. e) τινὰς (om. D) τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ λέγει· Πορευθέντες εἵπατε αὐτῷ (eunte*s inquire dicentes* e): Σὺ εἶ κτέ.; item in v. 22, ubi D e: Πορευθέντες εἵπατε (sed ἀπαγγείλατε e) Ἰωάνη, ἃ εἶδον ὑμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἃ (ἃ om. e) ἤκουσαν ὑμῶν τὰ ῥήματα, cum antithesi diligentius elaborata (cf. supra de V., 8). Sed si quis scriptor pridem sibi scripta iterum scribit, num id unum agere solet, ut ambages recidat scribendique laborem minuat? numquamne studet ut elegantiora quaedam reddat, etsi paullo pluribus verbis utendum sit?—VII., 47 de muliere peccatrice haec dicit Christus sec. D: οὗ χάριν δὲ (scil. haec fecerit), λέγω σοι· ἀφέωνται αὐτῇ πολλά (a. πολλά et. ff<sup>1</sup> 1). Sed hoc δὲ in graeca tantum parte codicis exstat; nemo latinus agnoscit, sicut ne e reliquis quidem quisquam. Minime autem ignotum est, omissa coniunctione existere sententiam satis perversam: propter magnum amorem remissa esse illi multa peccata, cum contraria ratio totius loci argumentationi unice conveniat: ob remissa multa peccata eam valde dilexisse. Recepta autem particula δὲ in verba Domini ut vulgo leguntur, tamen iterum offendimus in his: ὅτι ἡγάπησεν πολὺ, quae post ἀφέωνται αὐτῆς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι vulgo adduntur; nam διὸ ἡγ. πολὺ potius dicendum erat. Omittit autem

<sup>1</sup> Pro περὶ αὐτοῦ e habet corrupte ea dō.



haec et D et e, possisque pro interpolatis habere. Relinquitur haec inter  $\alpha$  et  $\beta$  differentia: quod  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$  πολλά est in  $\beta$  pro  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αἱ πολλαί et quod non adduntur extrema (quibus solus D caret):  $\psi$  δὲ ὀλίγον ἀφίεται, ὀλίγον ἀγαπᾷ: brevitati igitur scriptor insigniter consuluit.

Non puto opus esse omnes lectiones enumerare, quarum genus est idem atque earum de quibus egimus: velut VIII., 37 est in D una comprehensio (περίοδος) pro quattuor sensibus καὶ particula coniunctis<sup>1</sup>; ibd. 47 ἐντρομος οὐσα elegantius D pro τρέμουσα, sicut in Actis bis est ἐντρομος γενόμενος (VII., 32; XVI., 29). Sed c. XI., 37 sq. miretur aliquis ad D codicis testimonium accedere Syrorum. Nempe pro ἐν δὲ τῷ λαλῆσαι ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖος ὅπως ἀριστήσῃ παρ' αὐτῷ et D habet et versiones Syriacae Curetoniana Sinaïticaque: ἐδεήθη δὲ αὐτοῦ τις Φ. ἵνα ἀρ. κτέ.; item 38 pro ὁ δὲ Φαρ. ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι οὐ D Cur. cum plerisque italiae codd. et vulg. lat.: ὁ δὲ Φ. ἤρξατο διακρινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγειν (sed ἐθαύμασεν etiam syr. sin<sup>2</sup>): Διὰ τί οὐ κτέ. Rursus v. 53 sq. D: λέγοντος δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, ἤρξαντο οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ δεινῶς ἔχειν καὶ συμβάλλειν αὐτῷ περὶ πλειόνων, ζητοῦντες ἀφορμὴν τινα λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα εὕρωσιν κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ. (XII., 1) πολλῶν δὲ ὄχλων συμπεριεχόντων<sup>3</sup> κύκλῳ, ὥστε ἀλλήλους συμπνίγειν, ἤρξατο κτέ. Hae lectiones non solum apud Latinos recurrunt, sed etiam apud Syrum utrumque, nisi quod Sin. om. ἵνα εὕρωσιν κατηγο. αὐτοῦ, Curet. autem in XII., 1 cum  $\alpha$  facit. Tum prima λέγοντος δὲ (αὐτοῦ) ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς sunt etiam in

<sup>1</sup> Emendanda sunt verba D fere in hunc modum: παραγενομένων δὲ <τῶν> ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ θεωρησάντων καθήμενον τὸν δαίμονι (όμενον σωφρονούντα καὶ ἱματισμένον [καθήμενον] παρὰ τοῦ πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἐφοβήθησαν. V. 36 inutile post ἐσώθη ὁ λεγεών (D) vel ὁ δαίμονισθεῖς (cett.); om. c (Griesb.), ὁ ἄνθρω-

πος Syr. Sin. V. 37 D πάντες καὶ ἡ χώρα τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν, corrupte ut vid.; suntne delenda καὶ ἡ χ. τ. Γ.?

<sup>2</sup> Habet Syr. Sin. v. 37 sq. post παρ' αὐτῷ nihil nisi ἀναπεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐθαύμασεν Διὰ τί κτέ.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. prioris commentationis p. 141.

ΑΧΓΔ al., pro *κάκειθεν ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ* (N B C L). Secundum hanc optimorum lectionem sunt omnia illa quae hoc loco Lucas rettulit (v. 42–52) in domo Pharisei illius dicta, id quod sane mirum esse videtur (neque consentit Matthaeus), at secundum alteram lectionem sui est plane scriptor oblitus, qui oratione finita alium eius locum indicet atque ante eam fecerit. Has igitur difficultates monstrare possumus, solve non possumus.—XX., 20 De Syr. Cur. (non Sin.) *τῷ ἡγεμόνι* pro *τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος*. XXII., 24, pro *τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων* D a al. Syr. Cur. Sin. Schaaf. *τίς (αὐτῶν) ἂν εἴη μείζων*, valde e more Lucae.—58 D Syr. Cur. (non Sin.) *εἶπεν τὸ αὐτό* pro *ἔφη καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰ*. Plures locos adderem, si hic consensus hominum doctorum notitiam effugisset: erit autem mox videndum, qua ratione eum probabiliter explicemus.

Vidimus igitur eam euangelii Lucani recensionem, quae his testibus nititur, ab altera eo maxime differre, quod paullo brevior est paulloque rotundioribus sentiis concepta; accedit quod habet hic illic vel vocabula vel coniunctiones quae ad Actorum dicendi genus propius accedant: οὖν, v. 7; ἐν οἷς, vii. 18; ἐντρομος, vii. 47. Ne τε quidem simplex α β euangelii abest, quod cum paene alienum sit ab eiusdem α (xxi. 11 bis; xxiv. 20?) frequentissimum est in Actis: eu. xxiii. 36 ὁξος τε προσέφερον (pro ὁ. προσφέροντες καὶ) D b e ff<sup>1</sup> l q (Syr. Hierosol.). Sed omittitur hoc de aceto a Syris Curetoniano Sinaiticoque, potestque interpolatum videri, cum a cetera Lucae narratione prorsus disiunctum sit.<sup>1</sup> Hoc igitur misso tandem aliquando rationem quaeramus, quae ad ea quae iam tot locis apparuerunt explicanda sufficiat.

Itaque interpolatorem aliquem nobis confingere, cui alterutram recensionem imputemus, iam ab initio recusa-

<sup>1</sup> V. 37 sunt quaedam in D c Syr. Marco male interpolata. Cur. (vix quicquam in Syr. Sin.) ex

vimus; profecto enim ea fictio non sufficiet. Iam si ad auctorem ipsum utraque referenda est, posteriorque tempore putanda ea quam D cum sociis exhibet: erit eius rei ratio paullo altius repetenda. Unde locorum credemus hanc recensionem  $\beta$ , sive Actorum sive euangelii Lucani, ultimam originem duxisse? At hoc quidem dudum nos compertum habere multi respondebunt, in occidentis terris eam natam esse, quarum caput fuisse Romam vel pueri sciunt. Sane ipse ego de ea re paullum haesitavi, cum viderem Syros quoque eiusdem testes adesse; nunc autem amplius pugnare nolo. Si enim recte coniecerunt ea quae hi Syri, Curetonianus Sinaiticusque, propria habent, ex Tatiani *Διὰ τρισάφων* esse repetita, ratio in promptu est cur hi cum D consentiant: Romae enim ille Christianus factus Romanam euangeliorum formam acceperat. Romanam igitur omnia signa demonstrant; Romanam (R) hanc recensionem vocare iam per omnes, credo, viros harum rerum peritos licebit: quae si est a Luca ipso non minus quam altera repetenda, sequitur fere ut putemus ab eo vel Romae scriptam vel Romam missam esse. Teneo enim utique auctorem Lucam, illum Pauli comitem, neque quidquam moveor dubitationibus theologorum, qui antiquiores nominis Lucani testes quam Irenaeum Tertullianumque poscunt. Latent ei testes adhuc, at fortasse aliquando prodibunt, censeoque omnes Syriace doctos summopere anniti debere, ut vel Papiæ Hieropolitani vel Iustini contra Marcionem libri versionem aliquam Syriacam inveniant: qua inventa iam aderit testis, quo antiquiorem desiderare impudentis sit. Verum equidem eis quoque qui nunc adsunt testibus plane sum contentus. Itaque Lucas utriusque libri auctor cum Paulo primum Caesaream Hierosolymaque venit, deinde tertio anno post Romam adiit, ubi conscripsit Acta sua, reliquitque Christianis Romanis eam eius libri formam, priorem scilicet, ex qua D derivatus est. Euangelium autem antea conscriptum

fuisse patet, id est Caesareae, ubi et otium diuturnum erat scriptori et rerum cognoscendarum summa facultas, statimque divulgatum et ad Theophilum missum. Quae si probabiliter disputata sunt, id inde consequitur quod oculis cernimus: Romanam euangelii formam, id est eam quam Romanis Christianis postea Lucas impertivit, fuisse posteriorem. Atque si quis dicat me nimis confidenter agere, eum meminisse oportet me non meis inventis confisum haec proferre, sed vetera a neglectu iniusto vindicantem; etenim id quoque iam veteres quidam computaverunt, euangelium eis temporibus quibus dixi compositum esse. Legitur in subscriptione versionis arabicae, quam v. ap. Tischend. I<sup>o</sup>. 738, scripsisse Lucam euangelium post ascensionem anno XXII., XIV. Claudii Caesaris; qui annus idem ille est, quo secundum Eusebii rationes Paulus Caesaream venit. Quod autem additur in illa subscriptione, in Macedonia aliqua urbe scripsisse Lucam, id aliunde venisse puto; neque enim subscriptionis auctor idem est atque auctor computi.<sup>1</sup>

At hoc mihi non iniuria aliquis obiciat, nondum satis examinasse me lectiones eas quae recensionis R peculiares sunt: quippe quarum partem exigua adhuc protulerim. Facile, credo, veniam impetrabo, ne necesse habeam omnes proferre, quae prolatarum consimiles sint; ne de illis quidem rationem reddere oportebit, quae per interpolationem ex Matthaeo Marcoque in R devenerint. Nihilo enim tutior ab hac interpolatione recensio R fuit quam altera, cuius nullum testem plane sincerum atque intemeratum nos habere constat; itaque ne Romanae quidem talem poscamus. Immo haec etiam magis quam altera interpolationem passa est, quo sollertiores habuit et doctiores antistites ecclesia Alexandrina quam Romana.

<sup>1</sup> Consimilis est subscriptio in eadem versione euangelio Iohannis addita: *asc. anno trigesimo, regnante Nerone imperatore.*  
*scriptum . . . populo urbis Ephes. p.*

Sed verum ut fateamur, etsi maior non tamen gravior pars variarum codicis D lectionum explicationem suam adhuc invenit. Etenim eis locis de quibus egimus similibusque omnibus vel nihil vel pauxillum refert, utrum sic an sic legamus: at sunt alii quibus magnopere referat, cum aut omissus sit in D vel integer versiculus sive plures versiculi, aut additamentum maius exstet, aut transpositio aliqua facta sit, aut prorsus sint alia pro aliis. Agamus igitur, si placet, primum de omissis, de quibus duplex patet iudicandi via. Aut enim omnino erunt spuria iudicanda, teste D sociisque, aut abiudicanda ab una recensione R, quae omissis superfluis indolem suam servabit.

Omittitur in D e aliis italae plerisque<sup>1</sup> integra sententia Lucae propria v. 39: καὶ οὐδεὶς πινὼν παλαιὸν θέλει νέον. λέγει γὰρ ὁ παλαιὸς χρηστός ἐστιν. Quae sententia eatenus prioribus apta est, quod de vini comparatione sumpta sicut priora; at ipse sensus prorsus distat. Atque cum ne in Eusebii quidem canonibus huius versus ratio habeatur (v. Tisch.), videtur pro male interpolato haberi posse; afuit certe a rec. R.—ix. 56, ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κτέ. cum NABC aliis plurimis etiam D om. (it. Syr. Sin.); habent F<sup>w</sup> K al., italae plerique (et. a e), Syr. Cur. Sunt autem totius huius loci (qui Lucae proprius est) duae recensiones, altera valde concisa, altera verbis sententiisque copiosior:

a.

54 Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης εἶπαν· Κύριε, θέλεις εἰπωμεν πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναλῶσαι αὐτούς; (55) στραφεὶς δὲ (pro his καὶ Syr. Sin.) ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς. (56) καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς ἑτέραν κώμην.

b.

Ἰδόντες κτέ. . . καὶ ἀναλῶσαι αὐτούς, ὥς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐποίησεν (ACD); (55) στραφεὶς δὲ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐκ οἴδατε, ποίου πνεύματος ἐστε (D e vulg. Syr. Cur.); (56) ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἤλθεν ψυχὰς (ἀνθρώπων) ἀπολέσαι, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι. καὶ ἐπ. κτέ.

<sup>1</sup> Syrus uterque h. l. nos deficit.

Testium ratio est quam maxime implicita. Codd.  $\aleph$  B, it. Syr. Sin. formam (a) constanter servant; item servant (b) ΓΑΠ, italae a b c f q; verum AC., vulg, italae e al., ipse D, tum Syr. Cur., in addendis vel omittendis eis quae (b) propria habet non sibi constant. Itaque altera ex duabus quas indicavi viis praclusa est: neutra enim forma recensionis R esse videtur. Spuriam autem (b) esse non possum a me impetrare ut credam.<sup>1</sup> Quid igitur faciendum? An erit tertia aliqua forma statuenda, undecumque oriunda, plenior non solum quam R sed etiam quam a? Nisi quidem fuerunt qui satis audacter Lucae verba mutilarent, recisis eis quae sibi non placerent quibusve haereticos maxime inniti viderent; fit enim hoc loco oppositio inter Vetus Novumque testamentum valde conspicua, Marcioni opportuna, orthodoxis incommoda. Adde quod, cum sint haec apud Lucam solum, ob id ipsum dubiae fidei esse videri poterant.—C. X., 41, iterum exstant et longiores formae et breviores, verum ut facile iudicium fiat. Brevissima enim forma, quae est in italae codd. multis Syroque Sin. *Μάρθα*, *Μάρθα*, *Μαρία τὴν ἀγαθὴν κτέ.*, ad R recte referetur; media quae est in D ex contaminatione explicabitur. Quod enim Clemens Alexandrinus licenter loco utens fere cum D congruit (v. Tischend.), non multum me movet.—Insignis est omissionibus locus XI., 29 sqq. Primum a Marcione Epiphanius tradit inde ab *εἰ μὴ* 29 usque ad 32 extr. omnia omissa esse. Tum 29 *εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ* absunt ab Syro Cur. (hab. Sin.). Dein v. 30 om. e, habet autem quae D a ff<sup>2</sup> post eum v. addunt: *καὶ καθὼς* (e *καθὼς γὰρ*, ut 30 init.) *Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ κτέ.*, fere = Mt. XII., 40. Haec quidem omissio in e casu et errore facta esse videtur. Denique v. 32 om. D solus, et est is v. manifesto haud apto loco collocatus, eum de Iona iterum agat post interiectam mentionem reginae Arabiae. Mirifice autem et 31 et 32 cum Matthaei

<sup>1</sup> J. Rendel-Harris (Robinson Texts and Studies, II., 233) Marcionis quas-  
dam fraudes subesse suspicatur.

verbis congruunt, ut facile suspiceris et haec et quae v. 30 D addit Matthaeo deberi, a Luca aliena esse.—XI., 36 om. D, a b e ff<sup>1</sup> i, Syr. Cur. (non Sin.); nolo loco obscurissimo et impeditissimo immorari.—42 ταῦτα ἔδει ποιῆσαι κατέϊνα μὴ παρῆναι (s. ἀφεῖναι) om. D; in b in extremo v. 41 leguntur, ubi locus eis nullus est. Recte ut vid. D; cf. Matth. XXIII., 23. 49, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν] διὰ τοῦτο (sicut Mt. XXIII., 34) D b (καὶ om. Syr. uterque). —XII., 19 D ital. nihil nisi ψυχὴ (om. ital.; ἰδοὺ Syr. uterque), ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ, εὐφραίνου. Insigne brevitatis quae fuit in R exemplum; sed etiam magis hoc (XIX. 31–35 D): καὶ ἄν τις ὑμᾶς ἐρωτᾷ, οὕτως<sup>1</sup> ἐρεῖτε, ὅτι ὁ κύριος, αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχει. καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἀπεκρίθησαν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχει, καὶ ἀγαγόντες τὸν πῶλον ἐπέριψαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἐπ’ αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπεβίβασαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Non absimiliter et italae codd. et Syri Cur. Sin., sed in singulis differunt.—Locum qui est de Cena Domini (xx., 17 sq.) sciens praetermitto; sec. W.–H. alios spuria sunt quae om. D.—xx., 43 sq. ὦφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κτῆ. habet D ital. Syr. Cur.; etiam N<sup>\*</sup> et N<sup>o</sup> etc.; om. N<sup>\*</sup> A B, Syr. Sin. Sint haec quoque a quibusdam deleta, v. supra de ix., 56, et cf. Epiphan. ap. Tischend. Nihil certe habent in verbis suspecti, quamquam ἐκτενής et ἐνισχύειν in Actis tantum recurunt, neque hoc transitivo sensu sed intransitivo, θρόμβος autem et ἀγωνία omnino non sunt in N. T. In proximo autem priore versu (42) verba μὴ (om. πλὴν) τὸ θελημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γενέσθω (γιν.) illis εἰ βούλει . . . ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ in Da ce ff<sup>2</sup> anteposita sunt; conicias haec εἰ β. . . ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ in R non fuisse.—xxiii., 10–12 om. Syr. Sin., recte ut videtur viro doctissimo I. Wellhausen; nos autem in 12 iam peculiarem formam rec. R agnovimus. Neque est vel mediocris scriptoris ita narrare ut facit Lucas sec. Sin.: per orationem enim Pilati v. 15 significabitur Iesum ab

<sup>1</sup> Οὕτως om. a c ff<sup>2</sup> l Syr. Cur.; ponetur melius pro repetitis ὅτι κτῆ.

Herode ad illum remissum esse, quod debebat utique scriptor ipse narrare.<sup>1</sup> Itaque per merum errorem haec in Sin. omissa esse videntur.—V. 34 α ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν. Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς (i. e. ministris supplicii) κτέ. (om. N<sup>a</sup> B D<sup>a</sup> a b d Syr. Sin.) quin Lucae sit nullus dubito, sed cum referretur ad auctores sceleris Iudaeos, habebat quod pugnare videretur cum vv. 28 sqq. et theologo alicui displicere posset. Certe videmus omnia ea qui ab his testibus (B maxime) omittuntur (ix. 56 sqq. xx., 43 sq.), habere usum aliquem theologicum, ea contra quae om. R eo usu carere neque a quoquam consulto omitti potuisse, sicut statim v. 39 οὐχὶ . . . ἡμᾶς (om. D e); xxiv., 6, οὐκ ἔστιν ὥδε, ἀλλὰ ἠγέρθη, quae om. D a b e ff<sup>1</sup> l; neque enim opus est dicere cum Westc.-H. e Matthaeo Marcoque esse haec interpolata, quibuscum ad verbum non consentiunt. At xxiv., 12, qui v. in eisdem (praeter ff<sup>1</sup>) et Syro Hierosolym. omittitur, recte dicitur et a Tischend. et a W.-H. Iohanni deberi, a Luca alienus esse; nempe is est cum Iohanne in singulis consensus, qui vetet nos aliter putare, neque ratio huius v. habetur in canonibus Eusebii (cf. supra de v. 39). Res autem ipsa respicitur postea in v. 24, qui a nullo teste omittitur; itaque scriptoris quaedam negligentia erit agnoscenda, qui omiserit quae non fuerint omittenda.—Similis est ratio verborum v. 36 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν (om. eidem), = Ioh. xx., 19, versusque 40 (om. etiam Syr. Cur. Sin.), = Ioh. v. 20.—51 sq. ἀπέστη (ita D) ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπέστρεψαν a b e ff<sup>1</sup> l Syr. Sin.; cett. διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν (haec

<sup>1</sup> Sic argumentatur W. (Gött. Nach. 1895, p. 9). V. 15 legi sec. Cur. Sin.: *Herodes (nisi enim eum ad eum) nihil* e. q. s., quibus verbis docere Pilatum sacerdotes de re nondum eis cognita; at sec. v. 10 sacerdotes quaestioni apud Her. habitae affuisse; recte igitur haec (10–12) omitti. Itaque nititur ille lectione quae aliis vitiosa videbitur: ἀνέ-

πεμψα γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτόν, cum in A D al. sit ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν, in N B K L al. autem: ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Praeterea clam Iudaeis Christus ad Herodem mitti nullo modo potuit; itaque plane necessario apud illum accusatores quoque affuerant.



καὶ . . . οὐρ. etiam  $\aleph^*$  om.). καὶ αὐτοὶ (αὐτοὶ om. e) προσ-  
 κυνήσαντες αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψαν. In extremo euangelio  
 locum invenimus, cuius difficultates non modo explicari  
 possint, sed etiam explicatae ad totam rem prosint inven-  
 taque nobis insigniter confirment. Nempe postquam Acta  
 Lucas conscribere coepit, quibus opus fuit ascensionis  
 narratione distinctiore, iam haec quae de eadem re in  
 euangelio scripserat fere superflua esse videbat, et cum  
 Romanum euangelii exemplum conscriberet, in brevius  
 saltem contraxit. Nam ab initio eum narravisse sicut est  
 in D minime probabile est. Pergit ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερου-  
 σαλὴμ μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης, καὶ ἦσαν διαπαντὸς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κτέ.,  
 significans hunc Iesu discessum, de quo modo rettulit,  
 minime eiusdem generis fuisse atque illum de quo dixit  
 v. 31 καὶ αὐτὸς ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Non erat rursus  
 discipulis Dominus appariturus, scilicet quia iam a terra  
 se subtraxerat. Hoc autem ut manifestum scriptor redde-  
 ret, non potuit verbo διέστη sive ἀπέστη esse contentus.  
 Colligendum autem ex hoc loco, ne Alexandrinos quidem  
 libros maximeque  $\aleph^*$  a recensione Romana plane alienos  
 esse; cf. Westc.-H. ii. 104 sq.; quae res nihil habet absoni  
 in frequentissimo diuturnissimoque inter Alexandriam et  
 Romam commeatu.

De omissionibus hactenus; sequitur ut *de reliquis variis  
 lectionis generibus* disseramus, initio ab eisdem extremis  
 capitibus facto. xxii. 47 add. DEHX, b c, al. (sed non  
 Syri Cur. Sin.): τοῦτο γὰρ σημεῖον δεδῶκει αὐτοῖς· ὃν ἂν  
 φιλήσῃ αὐτός ἐστιν (cf. Mt. xxvi. 48; Mc. xiv. 44). Negari  
 non potest, quin haec multo melius adsint quam absint;  
 cum enim absunt, non perspicitur cur proditor Iesu oscu-  
 lum obtulerit, neque quid sibi velint Iesu verba φιλήματι  
 τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως; Nihilominus additamentum  
 e Mc. et Mt. repetendum videtur, culpandusque scriptor,  
 qui obscure narraverit. Valet idem fere de xxiii. 17  
 ( $\aleph$ , plerique italae): ἀνάγκην δὲ εἶχεν ἀπολύειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ

έορτήν ένα (cf. Mt. xxvii. 15; Mc. xv. 6; Joh. xix. 39), quae D cum Syro utroque post v. 19 habet, loco multo minus apto, sed A B K L prorsus omittunt, cum sint ad reliquam narrationem intellegendam, ut minimum dicam, utilissima. V. 51, pro καὶ ἀψάμενος τοῦ ὠτίου ἰάσατο αὐτόν in D a ff' est: καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ (cf. vi. 10). Tetigi hunc locum in commentatione priore (p. 139), neque sententiam meam muto; dudum enim dixi nihil obstare quominus interdum R uberior fuerit quam α et β (sicut in Actorum extremis capitibus α quam β), et ineptum sit constans in conficiendo novo exemplo consilium scriptoris requirere, id ut ubique brevius esset quam priora.—V. 63 sq. has habent formas in libris:

κ B etc.	A X Γ, etc.	D (a q).
Καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες . . . ἐνέ- παιζον αὐτῷ δέροντες, καὶ περικαλύψαντες αὐτὸν ἐπη- ρώτων λέγοντες· Προφή- τευσον, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε;	Καὶ . . . δέροντες, καὶ περικαλ. αὐτὸν ἔτυπτον αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐπηρώτων κτέ.	Καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες . . . ἐνέ- παιζον αὐτῷ, καὶ περικα- λύψαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσω- πον ἔτυπτον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλεγον· Προφήτευσον κτέ.

Multo melius haec narrat Lucas quam Matthaeus Marcusque; ille enim omittit περικαλύψαντες αὐτόν, quo omisso omnia obscura fiunt, hic (sec. optimos ipsumque D) non addit τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε. Quod ideo non praetermitto, quo clarius quid his narratoribus tribui possit perspiciatur. Potest autem lectio D ad R referri, etsi italae codicum dissensus multiplex<sup>1</sup> quicquam pro certe statui vetat, et αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον (in A et D) vel e Marco commode repetas. xxiii. 42, pro καὶ ἔλεγεν apte D καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν κύριον εἶπεν αὐτῷ (cf. v. 28 al.; ὁ κύριος xvii. 5 sq. al.); tum D pro ὅταν κτέ. habet ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐλευσίως σου, of. xxi. 7 D, Act vii. 52.—xxiii. 45, τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος κ B C\*, καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη (ἐσκ. δὲ D, ἐσκοτ. e) ὁ ἥλιος cett. (etiam Syr. Cur.

<sup>1</sup> In b c e l omitta sunt περικ. αὐτοῦ git enim b (post ἐνεπ. αὐτῷ) λέγοντες, τὸ πρ., in b e etiam ἔτυπτον αὐτόν, πε- c καὶ ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες.

Sin.), nisi quod omnino om. vid. C<sup>1</sup>; quae sequuntur *ἐσχίσθη* δὲ τὸ καταπέτασμα κτέ. in D post *ἐξέπνευσεν* 46 transposita. Recte dicit Tischend. post *σκότος ἐγένετο* v. 44 ferri vix posse καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος; itaque om. haec καὶ σκότος . . . ἐνάτης Syr. Hieros. Verum his omissis videbitur Iesus circa horam sextam exspirasse. Equidem in re tam impedita nihil decernere audeo. Illud de velo templi eodem quo D loco referunt Matthaeus et Marcus; habet autem D proxima bene adaptata (47): καὶ ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος φωνήσας ἰδόξαζεν κτέ., pro ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἐκατ. τὸ γινόμενον ἰδόξαζεν.—Etiam maior est in extremo capite et initio proximi inter D ceterosque discrepantia. Nempe cum secundum ceteros omnino non commemoretur, esse a Iosepho ostium sepulcri lapide magno clausum, neque satis convenienter c. xxiv., 2 narretur mulieres lapidem ab ostio revolutum invenisse, in D (c, sahid.) exstat integra atque accurata narratio: additur enim post xxiii. 53: καὶ <τε>θέντος αὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκεν τῷ μνημείῳ λίθον, ὃν μόγις εἴκοσι ἐκύλιον, tum in xxiv., 1 est non ἤλθον sed ἤρχοντο, adiectumque ad extremum v. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ ἐν ἑαυταῖς, τίς ἄρα ἀποκυλίσει τὸν λίθον, unde pergitur ἐλθοῦσαι δὲ εὗρον κτέ. Non oportet ridiculum videri quod de lapidis magnitudine dictum est: metuens Iosephus, ne extractum corpus infesti Iudaei illuderent, fecit quod certe facere potuit, quippe qui vel viginti homines vel plures facile sibi ad eam operam comparare posset. At Homeri viro doctissimo T. Rendel-Harris<sup>1</sup> in mentem venit, apud quem (Od. ι, 240 sqq.) Cyclops ostio specus ἐπέθηκε θυρεὸν μέγαν . . . οὐκ ἂν τόν γε δύω καὶ εἴκοσ' ἄμαξαι . . . ἀπ' οὐδῆος ὀχλίσσειαν. Quid autem hoc contra Lucam auctorem probabit, qui vicinum Homeri locum ι, 148 (vel 546) in Actis (xxvii. 41) haud obscure imitetur? Olim fortasse apud magistrum haec Homeri edidicerat, quibus nunc et modeste et convenienter utitur.

<sup>1</sup> Robinson, Texts and Studies, II., 47.

Tum ἤρχοντο . . . ἐλθοῦσαι δὲ vel maxime ex ingenio huius scriptoris est, qui in variis temporibus verbi adhibendis valde sit accuratus, cf. v. 7, κατένεον (D) . . . ἐλθόντες οὖν ; Act. v. 26 sq., ἦγον . . . ἀγαγόντες δὲ ; xv. 3 sq., διήρχοντο . . . παραγενόμενοι δὲ ; xviii. 28 sq., ἐξέπλει . . . κατήντησεν δὲ (καταντήσας δὲ β) ; xxi. 15, 17, ἀνεβαίνομεν . . . γενομένων δὲ. Ipsum μόλις vel μόγις fere Lucae proprium est (ix. 39 ; Act. xiv. 18 ; xxvii. 7 sq. 16 ; praeterea 1 Petr. iv. 18 ; Rom. v. 7). Accedit quod in ceteris recensio D hoc quoque loco multa in brevius contraxit : 54, ἡ ἡμέρα προσαββάτου pro ἡμέρα παρασκευῆς, καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν ; 55, τὸ μνημα αὐτοῦ pro τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ ὡς ἐτίθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, xxiv. 1 om. ἀρώματα.<sup>1</sup>

In ceteris partibus euangelii memoria codicis D socio-  
rumque multo in universum rarius a ceteris recedit,  
minimeque saepe (id quod iam in superiore commentatione  
tetigi) in primis duobus capitibus. Quae capita num  
afuerint ab rec. priore, sicut pridem conieci, iam ne potest  
quidem quaeri, postquam apparuit D sociosque recentioris  
recensionis testes esse, non antiquioris. De loco i. 63 sqq.,  
de quo iam egimus, haec nunc addo. V. 63 λέγων om.  
D e (= R) ; 64 lectio D a b g<sup>1</sup> καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐλύθη ἡ γλῶσσα  
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐθαύμασαν πάντες, nihil habebit offensionis, si  
deleveris ἀνεψύχθη δὲ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλάλει εὐλογῶν τὸν  
θεόν, ut ex contaminatione recensionum orta ; excipiet  
enim καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας ἐπὶ πάντα κτί. Sed rectius  
fortasse vitium vetus in a admissum statuemus, ubi cum  
casu propter proximorum similitudinem verba καὶ ἐθαύμ.  
πάντες excidissent, suppleta postea in alienum locum de-  
venerint : quo vitio propter contaminationem etiam D  
infectus sit. Genuina autem lectio R in Syro Sin. esse

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. v. 13 solus D (d) Οὐλαμα-  
ους (Ulamaus) pro Ἑμμαούς (Ammaus  
italae quidam). Id Harrisii rationibus  
usus sic explicaverim : scriptum fuit in

latino codice EMMAVS addita varia  
lectione VL (vel) AMMAVS. Ex  
Syriaca quidem lingua idem non vide-  
tur explicari posse.

videtur: καὶ (παραχρῆμα) ἐλύθη—, καὶ εὐλόγει τὸν θεόν. καὶ ἐθαύμασαν κτέ., quibus verbis cum ex a adscripta essent ἀνιψύχθη δὲ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ ἐλάλει εὐλογῶν—, conflata est in D lectio quam videmus.—V. 67 pro ἐπροφίτευσεν λέγων D (R) εἶπεν.—ii., 4 verba διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυίδ in D Syr. Sin. post οὕτω ἐγκύψ v. 5 transposita sunt, ubi non minus aptum locum habent. Pergit D: ὥς δὲ παρεγγίνοντο (scrib. παρεγένοντο), ἐτελείσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι κτέ. (it. v. 21 συνετελείσθησαν D pro ἐπλήσθησαν; cf. iv. 2; Act. xxi., 27).—Contaminatio satis manifesta est ii., 41 sq.:

cett. test.

(41) Καὶ ἐπορεύοντο οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ κατ' ἔτος εἰς Ἱερ. τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα.  
(42) καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἐτῶν δώδεκα, ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν (εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα add. A C X al.) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἑορτῆς,  
(43) καὶ τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας κτέ.

D.

(41) Ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ . . . ἐν τῇ ἐ. τ. π. (42) καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἔτη (D L a b l q) ιβ' (ita et. n), ἀνέβησαν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ (D e) εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα (add. e, om. D) ἔχοντες αὐτόν (D e), κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν ἁζύμων (D X a c e). (43) καὶ τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμ. κτέ.

Bona est lectio D (e), si omiseris v. 41; at manente eo pravissima; itaque ex a eum in R recensionem perperam illatum esse statuemus. Ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἁζύμων est xxii., 1; ἔχοντες αὐτόν usitatum in Graeco sermone (et cf. Mt. xv. 30), quamvis Lucanis exemplis carens; at sunt ubique apud illum multa singularia. Aliter igitur nunc de hoc loco iudico atque antea iudicavi (v. p. 138).—De maioribus Christi qui iii., 24 sqq. in solo D congruenter cum Matthaeo enumerantur, non habeo quod confidenter dicam: sunt autem ibi Ioacim, Eliacim, rursusque Amasias, Ioas, Ochozias suis locis inserti, quamvis eos omiserit Matthaeus: ut appareat a docto certe homine neque a scriba vulgari eam correctionem factam esse. Non debebat tamen scribere τοῦ Ἰωακείμ, τοῦ Ἐλιακείμ, sed τοῦ Ἰω. τοῦ καὶ Ἐλιακ.; est enim idem homo, v. ii. Reg. 23, 34.—vi., 5 in D post v. 10 ponitur, sicut ap. Marcum<sup>1</sup> et Matthaeum; contra

<sup>1</sup> V. tamen prioris comment. p. 132.

h. l. habet idem D locum maxime memorabilem, quem nemo praeterea : τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου. Pergit autem D (v. supra) : Καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ κτέ. Perfacile est interpolatorem advocare, qui hoc additamentum sicut alia quaecunque in se recipiat ; sed equidem non video quid in his Luca ipso, Romana scilicet recensione, indignum sit, immo confirmari puto hac quoque re nostram de Romana recensione coniecturam. Quae enim Lucas in Palaestinae Syriaeque regionibus prudenter reticuerat, veritus Christianorum circumcisorum maximam offensionem, eadem Romae promere non dubitavit. Οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν exstat xxii., 34 (v. supra) ; ἐπικατάρατος et παραβάτης νόμου ap. Paulum sunt (Gal. iii., 10. 13 ; Rom. ii., 25. 27). Sed οἶδας post μὴ ex usu Novi T. delendum sit : aut enim εἰ μὴ simpliciter dicunt aut εἰ οὐκ οἶδας. --vii., 26 post προφήτου add. D ὅτι οὐδεὶς μελίων ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν προφήτης Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ, quae in aliis non hic sunt sed v. 28,<sup>1</sup> sicut ap. Matth. (xi., 11) ; itaque v. 28 D : λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ μικρότερος [αὐτοῦ] ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ κτέ. Aptus est et hic ordo et ille.—xii., 38 vulgo (sec. X B L, etc., sed non multum differunt A E, etc.) sic legitur : κὰν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ, κὰν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ καὶ εὖρη οὕτως, μακάριοι εἰσιν. Sed D c e : καὶ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ τῇ ἐσπερινῇ φυλακῇ καὶ εὖρήσει οὕτως ποιήσει (sic et. e, qui addit *quia recumbere eos faciet et ministrabit* ; at c *sic facientes*), καὶ ἐὰν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ (vel *tertia e, et si in t. c*). Ne ceteri quidem italae codd. ab hac lectione multum distant, neque Syr. Cur. neque Irenaeus neque (teste Epiphanio) Marcionis euangelium. Equidem putaverim casu neque consilio a vulgari forma abesse verba κὰν ἐν τῇ ἐσπερινῇ quae, facillime ante κὰν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ excidebant ; cetera leviora sunt.—xiii., 7 add. D (post

<sup>1</sup> Italae cod. a et ipse haec in v. 26 et καὶ περισσώτερον προφήτου. habet, sed perverse inter καὶ λέγω ὑμῖν

εὐρίσκω) φέρε τὴν ἀξίνην, v. 8 D a b c f al. habent κόφινον κοπρίων pro κόπρια. Non sunt haec interpolatorum similia, et agnoscit κόφινον κοπρίων Origenes (v. W.-H.; Or. in Levit. ii., 190 ed. de la Rue).—De verbis quae xxii., 27 in D exstant iam in priore commentatione idem iudicium tuli (p. 138 sq.). Quod additur ad 26 extr. (ὡς ὁ διακονῶν) in D μᾶλλον ἢ ὡς ὁ ἀνακείμενος, id confirmatur a Syr. Curet.; contra om. idem v. 27 alterum ὁ ἀνακείμενος et δὲ, ceteroquin sicut Syr. Sin. cum a faciens. Om. autem δὲ illud etiam Sinaiticus, qui sic hanc sententiam exhibet: οὐχὶ ὁ ἀνακείμενος ἐγὼ ὡς ὁ διάκονος ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν. Sit igitur et hoc ὁ ἀνακείμενος cum δὲ particula interpolatum et quae pro οὐχὶ ὁ ἀνακ. praebent italiae codices (a c e al.): ἐν ἔθνεσι μὲν (v. 25) ὁ ἀνακείμενος, ἐν ὑμῖν δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' (v. 26) ὁ διακονῶν, ut hanc agnoscamus formam a: (27) τίς γὰρ μείζων, ὁ ἀνακείμενος, ἢ ὁ διακονῶν; οὐχὶ ἐγὼ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἰμι ὡς ὁ διακονῶν; Contra R recensionis testis sit nobis D, qui pro v. 27 habet ἐγὼ γὰρ (autem sum d) ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν ἦλθον οὐχ ὡς ὁ ἀνακείμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ διακονῶν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἠὺξήθητε ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ μου. Etiam c fere cum d conspirat, ἦλθον autem et οὐχ ὡς ὁ κτέ. ab Origene confirmatur, quo vix fuit qui plura exempla Novi T. cognita habuerit.

Quid igitur est quod ex tot locis collatis iam compareat? an panaceam nos quandam invenisse, quae ad omnes difficultates tollendas aequae valeat? Minime vero. Sed est nimirum omnis ὑποθέσεως ea ratio, ut possis, cum rem aliquam ex coniectura statueris, eius ope τὰ φαινόμενα σφίζειν. Sunt τὰ φαινόμενα nunc variae quae occurrunt in hoc libro lectiones, maximeque ipsa earum et multitudo et magnitudo singularis atque insolita, cum in ceteris N. T. libris (praeter Acta) nihil tale compareat. Offendit in haec φαινόμενα neque servat ea qui librariorum licentiae omnia tribuit; eidem enim sunt qui et hos libros et ceteros descripserint, neque possunt nasci ex eadem causa effectus diversi. Servamus contra cum dicimus disparem horum

librorum condicionem ab initio atque ceterorum fuisse. Id quod etiam alia quadam ratione rem considerantibus summopere probabile videbitur: Matthaeus Iudaeam relicturus euangelium suum ecclesiis reliquisse traditur, quod sive recte traditur sive perperam, constat tamen e Iudaea hoc euangelium ad ceteras regiones propagatum esse. Ioannes Ephesi degens euangelium conscripsit; inde cum ceteris communicatum est. Itaque simplex horum euangeliorum et origo et forma a principio fuit, sicut epistularum omnium. Lucas autem, qui non magis quam Paulus sedem firmam haberet, sed huc illuc illius comes commearet, cum pluribus ecclesiis loco discretis suum euangelium communicare et potuit et fortasse debuit; quem enim potius adirent Romani eius legendi cupidi quam auctorem ipsum, qui secum commoraretur? Theophilus certe, ut equidem puto, longe gentium aberat. Non poterant autem deesse qui legere cuperent, postquam semel scriptum est, neque credi potest auctorem, cum exemplum ad Theophilum mitteret, non sibi alterum reliquisse, quod vel commodare licebat ad describendum aliis vel sua manu in eorum usum describere. Qua ratione plura exstiterunt euangelii Lucani inde a principio exempla, quae ut in universum inter se congruebant, ita in singulis verbis non raro, ut fit, differebant. Id igitur ipsum, quod nunc est alia huius euangelii atque ceterorum condicio, ex condicione dispari quae circa ipsa principia fuit facillime explicatur.

Itaque satis firmiter id undique colligi puto, esse, quod ad hoc euangelium attinet, codicem D recensiois cuiusdam peculiaris testem in multis satis sincerum, sinceriozem certe quam ullus est inter italae codices, in quibus saepe eiusdem recensiois lectiones inveniuntur. Contaminatione autem et ille non raro infectus, et in his plerumque peculiaris quam dixi forma oblitterata est. Romanam ei formae originem non sine magna probabilitate tribuere



cet, recentiorem autem quam alteram esse necessario fere statuitur. Hac autem ratione usi multo aequius leniusque de plerisque locis dubiae lectionis iudicabimus, cum non necesse habeamus ad unum exemplum archetypum omnia referre, quaeque auctoritate tantum quorundam testium deprimantur, iam salva illa auctoritate Lucae relinquere possimus; at ubi testimoniis accedant aliae suspitionis causae, maximeque ubi nimia existat cum reliquorum aliquo euangeliorum congruentia, nihil obstat quominus sicut antehac alienae manus additamentum esse iudicemus.

Possum in fine commemorare, magno quidem cum gaudio, haud dissentire a mea ratione diversas recensiones statuendi virum eximiae auctoritatis Georgium Salmon; possum paene idem dicere de altero censore benevolentissimo editionis meae Guilielmo Ramsay, qui sententiae meae specie atque voluntate adversatur, argumentis autem quae protulit eundem multo potius confirmat quam destruit.<sup>1</sup> Quippe quod verissime ille de Actorum libro pronuntiavit, non exstare alteram narrationem historicam quae tam minutam scrutationem sustineat, idem si ego ad eiusdem libri recensionem  $\beta$  transtulero, non habebit quod ex commentatione sua contra opponat. Strenuus autem patronus sententiae meae exstitit apud nostrates vir Syriace doctissimus Eberhardus Nestle, quicum in ea quoque re mihi insigniter convenit, quod uterque nostrum euangelii recensionem quam D exhibet recentiore esse iudicat ea, quae Alexandrinis testibus nititur. Et quod maximum est, aliis argumentis indiciisque ego ductus, aliis ille, ad eandem sententiam devenimus. Egit ille de his rebus cum alibi tum nuperrime in Annalibus Halensibus (Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken, 1895, pp. 102-113),

<sup>1</sup> Recte monet Ramsay Act. xx., 16  $\beta$  scribendum esse non  $\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\omega\nu$  sed  $\eta\gamma\omega\nu$ , sicuti in eodem D (item A E F) v. 26 falso pro  $\eta\gamma\epsilon\nu \eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu$  ( $\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\omega\nu$ ) traditum est.

***DE VARIIS FORMIS EUANGELII LUCANI. 313***

neque desistet de eisdem et invenire nova et proferre,  
estque spes haud exigua, fore per coniunctam plurium  
hominum operam magnum horum studiorum incrementum.

D. Halis Sax.

FRIDERICUS BLASS.

NOTES ON PROPERTIUS.

I. 2, 13 :

litora natiuis *persuadent* picta lapillis.

Mr. Postgate's *resplendent* is nearer to the ductus literarum than any other conjecture. On the other hand *praeifulgent* (Baehrens) has the connotation of comparison, which is, perhaps, desirable. We can combine both these advantages by reading :

litora natiuis *superant* depicta lapillis,

which preserves every letter of the ductus. If *de* were written above the line (superant<sup>de</sup> picta) and then inserted in the wrong place (superadent), *persuadent* would easily result.

*Ib.* 4, 16 :

quo magis et nostros contendis soluere amores  
hoc magis accepta *fallit* uterque fide.

*fallit* is probably corrupt. I hazard the conjecture that it is a correction of *uit*, the remnant of *uiuit*.

II. 15, 37 :

quod mihi si tecum tales concedere noctes  
illa uelit, uitae longus et annus erit.  
si dabit haec multas, fiam immortalis in illis ;  
nocte una quiuis uel deus esse potest.

Critics have with one accord sought the corruption in *tecum*. But none of the proposed corrections is satis

factory; and, if we observe the awkward transition from *illa* 38 to *haec* 39, we may be led to conclude that *tecum* is sound, and that the vice lies in *illa*. We must read:

quod mihi si tecum tales concedere noctes  
uita uelit, uitae longus et annus erit.  
si dabit haec, etc.

'But if be life's will to grant me such nights with thee, even a year of life will be long. But if she (life) bestow many,' etc. Propertius glides from the third to the second person in l. 17, to the third in l. 36, and then back to the second.

*Ib.* 20, 31:

atque inter Tityi uolucres mea poena uagetur.

If we accept Mr. Darbishire's brilliant *iecur* for *inter*, we must beware of altering *uolucres*, for the plural is supported by Statius, Theb. 4, 538, Tityosque alimenta uolucrum. Perhaps

adque iecur Tityi uolucres mea poena uocetur (or locetur).

*Ib.* 28, 53:

et quot Troia tulit uetus et quot Achaia formas,  
et Phoebi et Priami diruta regna senis.

The first line is perfectly sound; and *Priami* shows that the contrast of Greece and Troy is repeated in the second line in a varied form. Therefore the sole corruption lies in *Phoebi*, and we might read:

et Phthii et Priami diruta regna senis.

*Phthius senex* = Peleus, as in ii. 13, 22, *Phthii uiri* is Achilles.

*Ib.* 34, 34:

fluxerit ut magno factus amore liquor.

*tenuis factus*, Palmer. Rather keep *magno*, and read *parcus* for *factus*.

## III. 5, 9 :

corpora disponens mentem non uidit in arte.

The sense requires the equivalent of οὐκ ἔνειμε, in place of *non uidit in*; therefore read :

corpora disponens mentem non *dididit* arte.

## Ib. 12, 25 :

castra decem annorum et Ciconum †mons Ismara capta

Some of the Cicones lived on the mainland, some on an island. I therefore propose :

castra decem annorum et Ciconum insula et Ismara capta.

is<ula et is>mara).

## Ib. 13, 7 :

cinnamon et multi *pastor* odoris Arabs.

Mr. Postgate has proposed *carptor*. No change is necessary, but *pistor* would be nearer.

## Ib. 18, 21 :

*sed tamen* huc omnes, huc primus et ultimus ordo.

I suggest that *tendimus* may be the true correction; it is very near the ductus, on the anagram principle.

## Ib. 21, 27 :

persequar aut studium linguae, Demosthenis arma,  
*librorumque* tuos, docte Menandre, sales.

It has always struck me that *Demosthenis arma* is awkward in opposition with *studium linguae*, and as object of *persequar*. This consideration suggests that under *librorumque* a verb is concealed, on which *arma*, as well as *sales* (*libaboque* has been already conjectured), depends. We at once get :

persequar aut studium linguae : Demosthenis arma  
libaboque tuos, docte Menandre, sales.

## IV. 3, 7 :

te modo uiderunt titeratos Bactra per ortus,  
te modo munito Sericus hostis equo.

We must read *mitratos*, 'in the turbaned east.' The word occurs elsewhere in Propertius (iv. 7, 62).

*Ib.* 11 :

haecne marita fides ? et parce auia noctis. N.

(*et pacatae mihi*, and *hae sunt pactae mihi*, other MSS.) The idea introduced by such emendations as *pacta haec mihi praemia n.* seems inappropriate. We can keep close to N by reading :

haecne marita fides ? et pacta haec suaui noctis  
cum rudis urgenti bracchia uicta dedi ?

'and were these the sweet compacts of the night when.'

*Ib.* 7, 69 :

sic *mortis* lacrimis uitae sanamus amores.

*mortis* seems to be due to the general context, and especially to the proximity of *uitae*. Cynthia and the heroines—Andromede and Hypermnestra—tell one another their stories and weep together. Read :

sic *mixtis* lacrimis uitae sanamus amores.

Compare Ovid, *Pont.* i. 9, 20, cumque meis lacrimis miscuit usque suas.

J. B. BURY.

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS AND ITS POSSIBLE AUTHORSHIP, WITH A SEQUEL ON NOVATIAN'S TREATISE *DE TRINITATE*.<sup>1</sup>

THE Epistle to Diognetus, one of the most beautiful and interesting of early Christian writings, and hitherto included amongst the so-called Apostolical Fathers, has had a very strange and unfortunate history. It first became known to the world in the year 1592, when Henry Stephen published it from a MS. containing several pieces ascribed to Justin Martyr, and was, therefore, supposed to be of his writing. The MS. was of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and had been in the possession of the famous Reuchlin, but ultimately found its way to the Strasburg Library, which perished in the Franco-German War. Two copies of it were however made, one for Stephen, which is now at Leyden, and one for Beurer, now lost, but of which some of the variants have been preserved. Happily the original MS. was collated twice for Otto's two editions of Justin Martyr, 1843 and 1879, the latter collation having been made in 1861.

Though Otto has maintained the authorship of Justin, it soon became evident to the generality of scholars that it could not be his work. The style, manner, and treatment were so unlike his, that the supposition of his authorship seemed impossible, while the eminence of his name had caused various writings of unknown authorship to be ascribed to him. It was the interest of scribes and book-

<sup>1</sup> The sequel on Novatian, "De Trinitate," is reserved for a future opportunity.

sellers to put forward their publications under a great name, to say nothing of the authors themselves of spurious compositions. In the present case there is a sincerity and reality that prohibits the supposition of spuriousness in the sense of fabrication. And the man that was capable of composing such a work, must have been able to perceive that, in ascribing it to Justin, he was choosing a paternity which the want of resemblance was sufficient to refute. It has therefore been latterly printed as the work of an unknown author. In the following pages I have suggested, from a copious induction of similarities of style and thought, an author hitherto unsuspected, and consequently a date some half century later than Justin Martyr, but not too late for certain phrases which were relied on as throwing it back to the immediate proximity of Apostolic times. I assume, in accordance with the prevailing opinion of critical scholars, that the work could not have passed from the pen of Justin, without discussing that question as being already settled.

But besides the impossibility of attributing this work to Justin Martyr, it is manifest that, as it now stands, it is composite, consisting of two distinct portions. The first ten sections only have the character of an epistle, addressed to a pagan desirous of information in respect to the Christian religion. This is, as to its main design, pretty complete in itself, ending with a reference to the last times, but wanting any proper colophon. And the scribe has noted a vacancy, and mentioned that a break in the copy from which he wrote existed at that place. There may have never been any other conclusion, as the existing text does not absolutely require anything further; and the break noticed by the copyist may have been intended only to indicate that the sequel did not belong to the epistle. The two final sections are on a different subject, addressed to people already Christians, and



evidently formed the concluding part of a paschal homily, as manifest from the termination. These have therefore been commonly pronounced to be spurious, but they are no more spurious than the whole is spurious as ascribed to Justin Martyr: for neither part has any specific indication of authorship; while the continuity without any new title, and with only the slight interruption in the text noticed by the scribe, affords a presumption that both parts were originally extracted from the same author, though not belonging to the same work. And this presumption would only be neutralized by some marked difference in style and mental character, apart from the difference of subject-matter. On the other hand, if both parts are equally marked by a striking peculiarity of style, amounting to what may be called a mannerism, the presumption will be heightened to a degree of probability sufficient to carry conviction, as long as no evidence to the contrary is forthcoming. The supposition of a spurious continuation of the Epistle is contradicted by the difference in the persons addressed, in the subject-matter, and the homiletic character of the concluding sections. A person capable of imitating the mannerism I have alluded to, and composing the marvellously interesting addition, would never have dreamed of continuing the Epistle in such a manner. Whoever wrote these sections must have been an honest and genuine writer, and not a fabricator of literary forgeries.

I may now proceed to consider whether there does exist that identity of manner to which I have adverted, sufficient to raise the presumption of identity of authorship to such a degree of probability as might be reasonably convincing. I shall take first the two appended sections. In these we observe a marked tendency to concatenation, a habit of running into series of words, phrases, clauses, or sentences, parallel or antithetic, with like construction.

This will be best shown by extracts. Thus in section xi., after six lines, we find the following in the order of the words in the text :—"The Word manifested, freely speaking, by unbelievers not understood, to disciples expounding, who being reputed faithful by him have known the mysteries of the Father." Here we have a series of participial clauses. And this is followed after an intervening line by a resumption of the same construction, "Who by the people dishonoured, by the Apostles preached, by Gentiles was believed." Then follows immediately: "He who [was] from the beginning, who anew was manifested, who [in flesh] was found, who ever new in the hearts of saints is engendered." Then follows: "He who always [was], to-day reputed a son, by whom the Church is enriched, and grace expanded in saints is multiplied, affording understanding, displaying mysteries, announcing times, delighting in the faithful, bestowed on them that seek, by whom the bounds of faith are not broken, nor the bounds of the fathers bounded over. Then fear of law is sung, and grace of prophets is known, and the faith of Gospels is established, and the tradition of Apostles is preserved, and the grace of the Church leaps for joy, which grace not grieving thou shalt know what the Word discourses, by whom he wills, when he wishes."

In section xii. this manner is dropped for an allegorizing of Paradise, and the trees of knowledge and of life, but it is resumed at the close. "Thou shalt gather always [the fruits] which are desired with God, which a serpent does not touch, nor deceit infect, nor is Eve corrupted, but is believed to be a virgin, and salvation is shown, and Apostles are made understanding, and the Pasch of the Lord goes forth, and choirs are gathered, and are becomingly harmonized, and teaching the saints the Word is gladdened, by whom the Father is glorified, to whom be glory for ever, Amen." I think it will be at once perceived

that this constitutes a marked peculiarity of the writer, dropped where he has occasion to expound, but exhibited where he has room for rhetorical discourse.

We may now turn to the Epistle itself, and we shall find this manner running through the whole of it. It is displayed in the first section. The writer addresses a real or imagined friend whom he finds anxious for information respecting the Christian religion. But instead of stating this in a summary form he enters into a detailed enumeration of the points of inquiry—"In what God having believed, and how worshipping, they all overlook the world itself, and despise death, and neither reckon to be gods those regarded as such by Greeks, nor observe the superstition of Jews; and what is the friendly love they have to one another; and why at all this new kind<sup>1</sup> or pursuit has entered into life now, and not formerly?" All this, it may be said, is a natural index of the particulars to be treated of, which, in a rough manner, it is in fact. This would be a just remark if the same manner did not reappear through the entire Epistle. To present all this in full would be to copy a great part of the whole. I shall endeavour to show it as briefly as possible.

A little way on in section ii., where the pagan idols are described, we have a long enumeration, consecutive, but divisible into subordinate parts by a variation in the construction. These I shall number to mark the distinction. 1. "Is not one some stone, like to that trodden on? another brass, no better than the vessels wrought in brass for our use? another wood, already even rotted? another silver, needing a man to guard<sup>2</sup> it that it should not be

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a grammatical error in the text that I have not seen noticed, *τοῦτο γένος* instead of *τοῦτο τὸ γένος*. But the article may have been omitted by the scribe as a repetition of the last syllable of *τοῦτο*. Another instance of the same kind due to the same cause

occurs again.

<sup>2</sup> Here the text has *φυλάξαιτος* followed by a subjunctive *κλαπῇ* instead of an optative. Plainly we should read the future *φυλάξοιτος*, as indeed the sense requires.

stolen? another iron, corrupted by rust? another earthenware, no way more becoming than that wrought for the most dishonourable service?" 2. "Are not these all of corruptible material? Have they not been forged with iron and fire? Did not a stonecutter shape one,<sup>1</sup> a brazier another, a silversmith another, a potter another?" 3. "Was not before being shaped out by their arts, each of them transformed in shape, by [or, for] each, and still are now?" Might not the vessels that now exist of the same material, if they had met with the same artists, have been made like to such [idols]? Could not on the contrary those that are now adored by you, have been made by men vessels like the rest?" 4. "Are they all not dumb, not blind, not lifeless, not senseless, not motionless, not all rotting, not all being corrupted?" 5. "These ye call gods, these ye serve, these ye adore, and in fine ye make yourselves like unto them." I take here *ἐξομοιούσθε* in a middle or reflex sense; but a passive or neuter sense is admissible. The text of the original codex is as I have translated the last clause. Stephen's copy has *τέλειόν τε ἐξομοιούσθε*. Böhl would take the verb in an active sense and supply *illa Deo*, or something equivalent. This is very poor, for that is implied all through, and is no addition to the meaning.

This manner, dropped in section iii., is resumed in iv., on the Superstition of the Jews, in a somewhat different form. We have a series of four sentences commencing, respectively, with *τό τε, τὸ δέ, τὸ δέ, τὸ δέ*, these articles being all prepositive to infinitives which form the subjects of so many interrogative sentences. This variation from simple

<sup>1</sup> Here we have in Hefele's text for the several clauses *ὁ δέ* which would imply that the idols were stonecutters, and the like. The Lightfoot text has correctly *ὁ δέ*.

<sup>2</sup> For *ἐτι καὶ νῦν* the Lightfoot text

has given after Lachmann the conjectural *εὐκρίτειν*. This spoils the sense. The process of transforming such material to such use, sacred or vulgar, goes on still. "*Ἐκαστον* for *ἕκαστος* of the MS. is better.

enumerations, while the similar construction is preserved, is a plain indication of a mental habit, showing itself in different forms.

Section v., containing the very beautiful description of the Christians of the writer's time, is well worth giving in full for its own sake, and is specially suited to my purpose. For it shows the habit in various forms, enumerations of single words, clauses and antithetical sentences. "For Christians neither in region, nor in speech, nor in customs, have been discriminated from the rest of men. For neither do they anywhere inhabit cities of their own, nor do they use any altered dialect, nor practise any peculiar mode of living. Moreover, not by contrivance or thought of curious men has this been discovered as a kind of learning,<sup>1</sup> nor do they stand forward for any human doctrine, as some do. But inhabiting cities, both Greek and Barbarian, as the lot of each has been cast, and following the local customs in both dress and diet and the rest of life, they display a wonderful and confessedly strange condition of their own conduct, [or, polity]. They inhabit their own native countries, but as inhabitants by the way. They share all things as citizens, but they suffer all things as foreigners. Every foreign country is theirs, and every native country is foreign. They marry as all, beget children; but they do not cast away their begotten. They lay a common table, but not common.<sup>2</sup> They happen to be in the flesh, but do

<sup>1</sup> The text of the mss. has *μαθήματι τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εἰρημένον*. This is made in Hefele *μάθημα τοῦτ'* which is bad grammar without the article. In the Lightfoot Edition it is conjecturally made *μάθημα τοιοῦτ'*. I see no reason to do more than divide *μαθήματι* into *μάθημα τι*, "as a kind of learning." *Εἰρημένον* is certainly more in accordance with the preceding words than *εἰρημένον*.

<sup>2</sup> It appears to have been written thus in the original MS. The copy from which Stephen printed represents a lacuna before the second *κοιτήν*, which Maranus filled with *κοίτην*, "but not a common bed." I cannot think this correct. The verb *παρατίθεσθαι*, very proper to express the laying of a table, is quite unsuited to the preparing a bed, and Otto rightly disowned it. His notion is that *κοιτήν* is used in a double

not live after the flesh." (Here the verb is not βιοῦσιν, but ζῶσιν, and perhaps the writer means that they have another life, not carnal but spiritual.) "They stay on earth, but have their conversation in heaven. They obey the appointed laws, and in their own lives they surpass the laws. They love all, and by all they are persecuted; they are not known, and they are condemned; they are put to death, and they are quickened; they are poor, and make many rich; they are in want of all things, and in all things abound; they are dishonoured, and in dishonours are glorified; they are evil-spoken of, and they are justified; they are railed at, and they bless; they are insulted, and they show respect; doing good, are punished as evil; punished, they rejoice as made alive; by Jews they are warred against as aliens, and by Greeks they are persecuted; and the cause of the enmity they that hate them are not able to tell."

The next section, vi., is in the same style. "To speak simply, what soul is in a body, that Christians are in the world. The soul has been disseminated over all the members of the body, and Christians in the cities of the world. Soul dwells in the body but is not of the body, and Christians dwell in the world but are not of the world. Invisible the soul is kept in guard in a visible body, and Christians are known while remaining<sup>1</sup> in the world, but their religion remains invisible. The flesh hates the soul, and wars against it, though not wronged, because it is hindered from indulging in pleasures; and the world hates

sense, quite after the manner of the writer's habit of playing on words, as I shall have to notice hereafter. And he thinks it means impure. But as the writer condemned the Jewish distinction of meats this is not likely. It would not be common to all, but to their own community. Or if we might take the word in the sense of usual, as

when we speak of the common dialect, it would mean only occasional, and not their usual family table.

<sup>1</sup>In the original MS. the word is *μένοντες*. The editions divide this into *μέν ὄντες*. The former is more in character with the writer's habit of repeating and playing on words.

Christians, though not wronged, because they are opposed to pleasures. The soul loves the flesh that hates it, and the members, and Christians love those that hate them. The soul has been shut up in the body, but it holds the body together, and Christians are held as in a prison in the world, but they hold the world together. Immortal, the soul dwells in a mortal tabernacle, and Christians dwell by the way in corruptible things, awaiting the incorruption in heavenly things. Ill-treated in meats and drinks the soul is made better, and Christians being punished daily abound the more. To so great a post has God appointed them, from which it is not lawful for them to beg themselves off. [Do you not see them daily thrown to wild beasts that they might deny the Lord, and not overcome? Do you not see by how much the greater number are punished, by so much others are more numerous?]<sup>1</sup>

The next two sections are full of similar series, and would well repay transcription; but it is needless to multiply examples. I shall copy the concluding passage of section vii., from which I have transferred the two sentences just preceding. "As a king sending a son, He sent a king; as God, *θεόν*, He sent him; as to men, He sent; He sent, as saving; He sent, as persuading, not forcing, for force does not belong to God; He sent as calling, not driving away; He sent as loving, not judging. For He will send him judging, and who shall sustain his appearing." Here follows in the original MSS. a vacancy which the scribe says he found in his copy, it being very ancient. And

<sup>1</sup> I venture to transfer to this place these two sentences from near the end of the next section. They are there entirely out of place and unconnected with the context, while here they are specially appropriate as exemplifying the Christians' steadfastness in the post of danger to which God had appointed

them. There are many ways in which a copyist may have been led to misplace these sentences. The first *οὐχ ὅπως* has been conjecturally supplied by Stephen, no doubt correctly. But there is a larger hiatus in the MS. where they have been supplied.

here, probably to fill up the vacancy, are introduced, out of all connection, the two sentences which I have restored to their proper place at the close of the preceding section. The vacancy was evidently originally filled with some mention of the circumstances and consequences of the future judgment. Then the concluding sentences come in naturally. "These things do not seem the works of man, these are the power of God; these are the dogmas of his appearing." For, having omitted the misplaced sentences, we may resume the *δόγματα* of the MS. instead of the conjectural *δείγματα* invented with regard to the examples of enduring fidelity in the now omitted sentences.

In section viii. the same enumerative habit shows itself again. I pass over the early part on the previous ignorance of the true nature of God as I shall have occasion to cite it hereafter. In the latter part the goodness and love of God is set forth. He was not only *φιλόανθρωπος*, but *μακρόθυμος*. "He was indeed always such, and is and will be, kind, and good, and not wrathful, and true; and He alone is good, but having formed in thought, *ἐννοήσας*, a great and inexpressible thought, *ἐννοίαν*, which He communicated to His Son alone. As long, however, as He retained in mystery, and reserved His wise counsel, He seemed to neglect and not to care for us; but when He revealed by His beloved Son, and displayed the things prepared from the beginning, He afforded them all at once to us, and to partake of his benefits. And which of us would ever have expected to perceive and to accomplish (them)." Here the editors have encountered great difficulty. The text as it stands runs thus according to MS. :—*καὶ μετασχεῖν ἐνεργειῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ποιῆσαι τίς ἂν πώποτε προσεδόκησεν ἡμῶν* ; Here some editors have put a full stop before *τίς*, and have stumbled at *ποιῆσαι*, while Lachmann substitutes *νοῆσαι ἂ τίς*. There is no need of any change but a correct punctuation. I put a full stop or colon after *αὐτοῦ*,



beginning a new sentence with καὶ ἰδεῖν. This manner of beginning a winding-up sentence with καὶ may be observed at the end of section v. The writer's intention is to affirm the impossibility of the Divine scheme being of human invention, as, at the close of the preceding section, he had said, "these things do not seem to be the works of man." It is possible that in the use of the word ποιῆσαι he had in his mind the sense of poetical composition with allusion to the poetic fables of the old mythology. The last sentence stands very well where it is, as an independent sentence. "All, therefore, the Father had known, ᾧδεῖ, by Himself with His Son οἰκονομικῶς." But the Lightfoot edition has made it part of the first sentence of the next section, with Lachmann changing ᾧδεῖ into ἥδη and reading οἰκονομηκῶς. The MS. has οἰκονομιεῖς which is of course incorrect. The perfect οἰκονομηκῶς should begin with φ'. The adverb, as above, makes less change, but does not give a facile sense, and οἰκονομήσας would leave the first syllable correct. But there is no reason for connecting the words with the next sentence, which would require an alteration there by reading μέν alone, instead of μέν οὖν. It is always safe to make as little change in a text as possible.

Section ix. takes up the question of the programme, Why the Christian revelation was so long delayed? In the past time God left men to be carried away by their own lusts and appetites, enduring, not consenting to their sins, but τὸν νοῦν τῆς δικαιοσύνης δημιουργῶν. This remarkable phrase τὸν νοῦν δικ. is emasculated in the Lightfoot edition after a suggestion of Hefele, by the substitution of νῦν. It is to be remarked that the faculty of νοῦς is not here intended, but the practical understanding acquired by experience, like the knowledge of good and evil acquired by the first transgression. I shall not dwell on this now as I hope to revert to it by-and-by. But the writer explains the preparation of this practical understand-

ing by the opportunity afforded to men of showing the impossibility of attaining righteousness by man's unaided efforts, and thus preparing them for the reception of the revelation to be made in due time.

The writer then proceeds to say that when the appointed time had come, "as the one love of the exceeding philanthropy of God did not hate us, nor reject, nor remember evil, but was long-suffering, endured us, Himself took on Him our sins." Here for the  $\omega\varsigma$  of the MS. has been made, without necessity, the interjection  $\omega$ , "O the exceeding philanthropy." This has been extended still farther by Maranus, who for  $\mu\alpha$  reads  $\omicron\lambda\alpha$ , "what love," and the Lightfoot edition has gone farther introducing the word  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu$  before  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , and omitting  $\mu\alpha$ . All this is quite arbitrary. But there is this to be said in favour of the shorter exclamation, that similar exclamations occur shortly after. Next follows the highly evangelical passage which has seemed to some to savour of Reformation times. But as the MS. had been in Reuchlin's hands, and appears from a notice of the scribe already mentioned to have been taken from another very ancient, it exists too early to be due to the revived evangelical spirit of the Reformation. Rather it savours of a very early period, and is largely made up of New Testament phrases. I copy it for its own interest, and as exemplifying the writer's manner. "He bore with us, saying,<sup>1</sup> Himself hath undertaken our sins, Himself gave His own Son a ransom for us, the holy for the lawless, the one without evil for the evil, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal. For what else could cover our sins but His righteousness. In whom was it possible that we, the

<sup>1</sup> The word "saying" has been omitted in the editions, but as Hefele remarks, it is due to a reference to Isaiah liii. to which there are many

allusions, and from which many phrases have been borrowed. It may be a copyist's gloss.

lawless and impious, could be justified but in the only Son of God? O, the sweet interchange! O, the unsearchable creative work! O, the benefits not to have been expected! that the lawlessness of many might be hidden in one righteous, but the righteousness<sup>1</sup> of One should justify many lawless. Having, then, in the former time, shown the incapability of our nature for the obtaining of life, but now having manifested the Saviour capable of saving even the incapable, from both He has willed that we should believe in His kindness; should count Him nourisher, Father, teacher, counsellor, physician, understanding, light, honour, glory, strength, life; should not be careful for clothing and nutriment." This last clause is entirely omitted in the text of the Lightfoot edition, though given in the subjoined note. I suppose this is due to thinking it a final term in the immediately preceding enumeration. It is not such, however, but is an independent clause, the third of three infinitive members depending on the preceding word "willed."

The last section of the Epistle is characterized by the same manner, and ending as it does with reference to the blessedness of those who have preferred to endure the temporal to the eternal fire seems to make the Epistle complete, except one might expect some colophon, or at least some form of salutation at the end. It sets out the benefits which Diognetus would enjoy by becoming a Christian. I shall not dwell on it at present, but may have to refer hereafter to some particulars contained in it. At present I only note the use of the word *μονογενής* as applied to the Son of God.

In the translations which I have given I have endeavoured to exhibit the form of expression as well as the sentiments of the writer; the form and manner being

<sup>1</sup> I make this nominative with the Lightfoot Edition, instead of dative as in Hefele.

essential to my present purpose. And, I think, that, notwithstanding the diversity of subject-matter in the appended sections, I have amply shown an identity of manner plainly proceeding from a similar mental habit. So far there is no reason why we should doubt that both the Epistle and the Appendix are from the same hand, of which the fact that they are put in juxtaposition affords a presumption. And I may add the improbability that a compiler, taking at random from some different author, should have accidentally hit on an extract which, in so remarkable a manner, exhibits a similarity of style and mental habitude. I think, therefore, we may reasonably and without hesitation assume that both parts were extracted from a common author, erroneously supposed to be Justin Martyr, whose eminence in aftertimes has caused much to be attributed to him that was not his, in which, as I said, we may think that booksellers had some hand.

In general I may say here that the style of enumeration and the habit of running into series can only be treated as evidence of authorship when it amounts to what is commonly called a mannerism. And even a writer who has this manner will often be obliged to abstain from it owing to the nature of the matter under discussion and the necessity of arguing closely, or even of brevity. It is only in writings of a rhetorical kind that it will be fully exhibited, while in more argumentative discussion it will only appear when the writer gets an opportunity of breaking, as it were, into a gallop in the midst of prevailing uphill work. This manner of writing is also found in varying degrees in many writers, and occasionally in most, and it is easily imitated designedly or caught accidentally. It is only therefore when it is excessive that much weight can be attached to it, and it would be rash to regard it as direct evidence. But coming in support of *prima facie*

evidence of a different kind, it counteracts objections in regard to style, and it gives great support to evidence of other kinds, even to simple presumptions, especially when there is no opposing evidence. And this is the case with the Epistle to Diognetus, and the appended sections. For the mere difference of subject is no opposing evidence, while the similarity of manner, in spite of the difference of matter, is in such a case the more significant.

I shall now turn to another writer in whom this manner prevails to a very large extent, in whom I shall be able to show many resemblances of a different sort, and even coincidences of thought, and similarity of expression which approach to identity. And I think I shall be able to make it probable that the Diognetian Epistle and its Appendix are the work of the writer I have in view.

In making the comparison that I propose I shall begin with the appended sections of the Diognetian writing. The Preface to it in the Lightfoot edition asks "May we not hazard a conjecture?" The conjecture is that Pantænus was the author. This is founded on the fact that Anastasius of Sinai names him with two or three others as having allegorized the story of Paradise, applying it in a spiritual sense to the Church. The plurality of these allegorizers neutralises any value the statement might have; and as we have not, I believe, a sentence of Pantænus remaining, this conjecture must be regarded as a guess made in despair.

The writer of the fragment begins thus:—"I do not discourse, *ὁμιλῶ*, strange things, nor search irrationally; but having become a disciple of Apostles I am made a teacher of nations," *γενόμενος ἀποστόλων μαθητῆς, γίνομαι διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν*. We shall see that this does not necessarily imply immediate discipleship, as some quotations I shall make will prove. And first let us compare the phrase

with what Hippolytus says of himself in the Proem of the *Philosophûmena*, 63, p. 8, Ed. Miller, "Of whom (viz. the Apostles) we being successors, and partaking of the same grace, and highpriesthood, and teaching, and having been reputed sentinals, *φρουροί*, of the Church." Now it is curious that while the Diognesian writer calls himself a disciple of the Apostles, Palladius, at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, gives a narrative headed τοῦ Ἰππολύτου, τοῦ γνωρίμου τῶν ἀποστόλων, Lagarde, p. 203. This is a stronger term, and often denotes personal acquaintanceship. Yet, plainly, it was in this case meant to express simple discipleship, as in Hesychius, *γνωρίμοι, μαθηταί*. And so in Philo, *περὶ βίου θεωρητ.*, the writer's contemporaries are called *γνωρίμοι* of Moses. Ed. Turneb, p. 636. Again, in Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vet. Scrip. Euthymii, circa* A.D. 550, we find Ἰππολύτου τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ γνωρίμου τῶν ἀποστόλων. See Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom. vi.*, p. 343, Ed. 1890. This term seems to have become a sort of customary title of Hippolytus, perhaps to distinguish him from others of the same name. At any rate it is plain that immediate discipleship is not more implied in the Diognesian writing than immediate succession in the case of Hippolytus. However the title *γνωρίμος ἀποστόλων* came to be used of him, it is significant as compared with that of *μαθητῆς ἀποστόλων* in Diogn. xi. We may carry our comparison farther. The latter immediately adds τὰ παραδοθέντα ἀξίοις ὑπηρετῶ γενομένοις ἀληθείας μαθηταῖς, while the words of Hippolytus which I have quoted are immediately preceded by τὸ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοθὲν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, οὗ τυχόντες πρότεροι οἱ ἀπόστολοι μετέδωκαν τοῖς ὀρθῶς πεπιστευκόσιν ὧν κ.τ.λ. The coincidence of thought is, I think, very significant, and this is strengthened by his speaking in a few lines after of "whatever things the Truth having received by the grace of the Father, has ministered to men." As the truth is personified in the phrase of Diogn. xi., "disciples of the

truth," so here it is personified also as ministering to men the Divine teaching. Again the Diognesian writer speaks of himself as made, *γίνομαι*, "a teacher of nations." Now this may be compared with Phil. x., 34, where Hippolytus addresses people of all nations whom he enumerates, *οἱς σύμβουλος ἐγὼ γίνομαι*. Here both the verb and the personal pronoun plainly indicate some official position. And we are reminded how Photius tells us that he was ordained at Rome to be *ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐθνῶν*.<sup>1</sup> But was he Bishop of the nations? Being Bishop of Portus Romanus he was set there, as it were, *φρουρός*, a sentinel of the Church at an outpost, watching the arrival of those who from all nations flocked to Rome, Pagans, Christians, and Heretics. He was thus "an appointed counsellor" for them, as he tells them in the passage before us. "Such is the true doctrine concerning God, O Men, both Greeks and Barbarians, Chaldæans and Assyrians, Egyptians and Libyans, Indians and Ethiopians, Celts and Latins serving in the army,<sup>2</sup> and all that inhabit Europe, Asia, and Libya, for whom I am appointed an adviser, being a disciple of the Philanthropic Word, and philanthropic, in order that on your arrival, *προσδραμόντες*, you may be taught by us." He thus claims to be an official teacher of the nations. And it is very remarkable, as Bishop Lightfoot has noticed, that while people of other nations are addressed in general, it is only Latins serving in the army that are mentioned. For to Portus the military would continually resort, either for embarkation or on their return from foreign service. Let

<sup>1</sup> It is true that it is under the name of Gaius that Photius speaks of him, whether by mistake, or because Hippolytus ever bore this name. But he speaks of him as author of a book now known to be the work of Hippolytus, the discourse *περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς*, the authorship of which was long unknown. It is ascribed to Hippolytus in the list

of his works on the famous statute at Rome, and he refers to it himself as his work in Phil. x. 32, p. 354, Ed. Miller, "our book treating *περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας*."

<sup>2</sup> The word is *στρατηγοῦντες*, but it must be taken in a larger sense. For why should he mention only generals?

us also notice the word philanthropic applied to the Λόγος in this passage, and compare it with the words in the very next sentence of Diognetus, καὶ λόγῳ προσφιλεῖ γεννηθείς. This has troubled the editors, and has been changed into προσφιλῆς γεννηθείς, and is so given in the Lightfoot Edition. It has not been observed that the phrase as it stands in the MS. is an echo or reminiscence of 1 Peter i. 23, ἀναγεγεννημένοι . . . διὰ Λόγου ζῶντος Θεοῦ.

In this section we have the following words: ὁ αἰ, σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθείς. The latter phrase is, of course, derived from the second Psalm, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee." I cannot think that its introduction was gratuitous or accidental. It stands at the close of a series of antithetic clauses: "He that was from the beginning, that was manifested new and found [in flesh], and is ever engendered new in the hearts of holy men; He that always was, to-day reckoned a Son." Evidently a contrast is marked between the perpetual pre-existence, and the present attribution of Sonship, with a mental reference, no doubt, to the anticipatory words of the second Psalm, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee." But this distinction, rarely insisted on, if held at all, between the previous and present relation of the Word to the title of Son, had for Hippolytus a special significance. In his tract against Noetus we find, Lagarde, p. 54, as follows: "What Son of His own did God send down through the flesh, but the Word whom He addressed as a Son, because He was afterwards to become one?" Here the reference to the anticipatory words of the second Psalm is evident. He proceeds then, "And He that is called Son, assumes the name of loving affection to men. For neither without flesh and by himself was He a full Son, although full Word" (in both cases τέλειος), being only-begotten; nor could the flesh by itself without the Word, λόγου, subsist, ὑποστῆναι, as such, by reason of having its



constitution in the Word, *διὰ τὸ ἐν λόγῳ τὴν σύστασιν ἔχειν*. Thus, therefore, He was manifested one full Son of God." In this remarkable passage, to which I am aware of no parallel, the eternal generation is recognized in the statement that Our Lord was previously "only-begotten" while the appropriation of the title Son in its full sense is limited to the incarnation. It seems plain that in Diognetus the same distinction is marked in the spirit of the words of Hippolytus. Perhaps his application of the term "only-begotten" to the Word may be thought to indicate a third variant of S. John i., 8, "only-begotten Word," besides "only-begotten Son," and "only-begotten God." At any rate the coincidence of the two documents in a similar and very peculiar notion has great significance. This section has thus been throughout brought into close contact with Hippolytus.

I shall also notice here the words, near the close of the section, *ἃ λόγος ὁμιλεῖ, δι' ὧν βούλεται, ὅτε θέλει*. We may compare this not very usual way of speaking with Hippolytus, Noet. Lagarde, p. 50, 11, *πάντα ποιῶν, ἃ θέλει, καθὼς θέλει, ὅτε θέλει*. And in Hypoth. in Psalm, p. 192, 17, we have again, *ὁ πρακτέον, καὶ ὅτε πρακτέον, καὶ ὡς πρακτέον*.

The final section is very remarkable: "Which things having seriously read and heard, you will know what things God grants to them that rightly love, who, having been made a luxuriant paradise, and caused to shoot up in themselves an all fruitful, well blooming tree, have been adorned with various fruits. For in this plot" (plainly themselves) "has been planted a tree of knowledge and a tree of life. But it is not the tree of knowledge that slays, but disobedience, *παρακοή*, slays. For neither are the things that have been written without meaning, how God from the beginning planted a tree of life in the midst of Paradise, shewing life through knowledge. Which they from the

beginning, not having used purely, were made bare by the serpent's deceit. For neither is life without knowledge, nor knowledge safe without true life. Wherefore they were planted near one another. The meaning of which, ἦν δύναμιν, the Apostle having seen into, and censuring knowledge studied without the reality of the commandment unto life, saith 'Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.' For he who thinks that he knows anything without knowledge, real and testified by his life, knoweth not, is deceived by the serpent, not having loved to live. But he that with fear has taken knowledge and seeks life in addition, ἐπιζητῶν, plants in hope expecting fruit." Before I proceed to the hortatory application of this I shall advert to a story told by Jerome of Hippolytus, Cat. Script. Eccl., first observing that the foregoing is part of an avowed homily, as indeed its whole character shows it to be.

At the close of his list of the works of Hippolytus, Jerome adds as follows: "Et πρὸς ὁμιλιῶν: de laude salvatoris, in qua presente Origene se loqui in Ecclesia significat in hujus emulationem. Ambrosius, etc." I take this as it appears in the Edition of Jerome's Epistles by Erasmus: and in the Greek the words πρὸς ὁμιλιῶν are separated from the sequel by a comma as they are from what precedes, so that it may be construed with the sequel. Taken by themselves they can hardly be taken to denote a separate work, other items being indicated by περί, nor would a work about homilies be otherwise expressed. I take it therefore that they should be read with the sequel. If they are to be read as two words they would signify quod attinet ad, or quoad, as to homilies, etc. If made one word they would signify, "of homiletic addresses, etc." Later Editors read προσομιλίαν, as denoting a single homily to which the subsequent *in qua* might be referred and not to *laudem*. But the Greek ἐν οἷς by its number and gender,

must refer to ἐπαίνων. Photius gives us no help, as he makes it προσομιλεῖν depending on λέγεται, and this would connect it with the sequel at any rate. If any change is made προσομιλῶν would by far be more probable. In the Greek the words κατὰ μίμησιν αὐτοῦ are thrown back from the end as in the Latin, so as to render it impossible to separate them from this sentence, and join them to the next as later Editors have done. By this separation Ambrosius is made to have suggested to Origen to imitate Hippolytus in his Commentaries. Now, however Hippolytus might on an occasion have imitated Origen's allegorical method of commentary, certainly his own method of commenting could never have been in extent or manner a pattern followed by Origen. At any rate we have the authority of the Greek for connecting the words with the preceding sentence; and as Jerome mentions Sophronius as having translated some of his works, we can scarcely doubt Jerome was acquainted with this translation. Moreover, it was so natural that Hippolytus, in a public discourse, should have alluded to the presence of so remarkable a person as Origen, that Jerome would scarcely have thought of mentioning this if there had only been a reference to his presence. But the remarkable addition of his adopting for the occasion Origen's manner of treating the Scriptures would fully account for Jerome's relating the occurrence. It is to be noted that Photius omits the mention of Origen's presence and the name of Ambrosius, thus making Hippolytus to be the ἐργοδιώκτης of Origen. Lemoine supposed that Photius read αὐτός for a contracted form of Ambrosius. It seems to me that Jerome, having omitted the relations between Origen and Ambrosius in his previous account of both, reminded by the mention of Origen here, now supplied the defect. If I am right in the foregoing brief discussion, it is clear that, at least on one occasion, Hippolytus did imitate Origen; and it is also clear that

the Diognetian allegory is quite in the manner of Origen, and is truly part of a homily *in laudem Domini*, apparently a paschal one.

I may now go on to the hortatory application of the allegory. I first notice the following: "Of which," namely, λόγος ἀληθής, "bearing a tree, and abundantly bearing fruit, you will ever gather the things with God desired; which a serpent does not touch, nor deceit come in contact with, nor is Eve corrupted, but is believed a Virgin." Now, it is plain that whatever the writer intended by the last clause, it must find its justification in the Biblical narrative or some perversion of it, which the mention of the tree, the serpent, and Eve shows that he had in mind. The corruption of Eve by itself would be intelligible, but the mention of virginity in immediate sequence shows that only one kind of corruption was in the writer's thoughts. Yet Eve was not created for virginity; she was to cleave to her husband, and few will think that this was the forbidden fruit, a notion quite inconsistent with the evident meaning of the Scriptural story. But Hippolytus enables us to solve the difficulty. Referring to *Philosophúmena*, v. 26, p. 155, ii., Ed. Miller, and observing that Naas is the Nahash, or serpent of Genesis iii., I put in parallel columns the two passages:—

ADIOGNET. xii. :

ὃν ὅφισ οὐχ ἀπτεται, οὐδὲ πλάνη  
συγχρωτίζεται, οὐδὲ Ἐδα φθείρεται, ἀλλὰ  
παρθένος πιστεύεται.

HIPPOLYTUS :

‘Ο δὲ Νάας παρανομίαν ἔσχε’ προσ-  
ῆλθε γὰρ τῇ Ἐβᾷ ἐξαπατήσας αὐτήν καὶ  
ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν.

Here we have in both the like terms, the serpent, the deceit, and the same kind of corruption. This is in the account of the Naasenes, a form of the Ophite heresy invented by one Justin, of whom nothing was known till brought to light by Hippolytus, the followers of Justin having been bound by a solemn oath not to disclose their

special notions. Hippolytus was a diligent hunter of obscure heresies; and, having discovered this, it would naturally assume a place in discoursing on the story of Paradise and the fall. The word ἐμολέγευσεν is explained by the fact that Eve was already the wife of Adam, though the alleged corruption took place before they came together; and then the Homily affirms that she was found a virgin by Adam. And, having thus explained the allusion in the Homily, we may allow that the writer extended his view to the perpetual virginity of the second Eve, which seems to be indicated by the succeeding words, "and salvation is displayed"; though even in this there may be also an allusion to the promised seed of the woman in Genesis iii. But for the discovery of the Philosophūmena we should have been still unable to explain the words in Diognet. xii. And we may compare with the foregoing a sentence in the Theophania of Hippolytus, Lagarde, p. 38, where, in a series of antithetical sentences, the Baptist, disparaging himself and exalting our Lord, is made to say: "I relaxed a mother's barrenness, στείρωσιν, by my birth, οὐ παρθενίαν ἐστείρωσα.

I shall now put side by side the last sentence of the Diognetian writing, and the concluding sentence of the "De Christ. et Antichrist." of Hippolytus, Lagarde, p. 36:—

And teaching saints, ἁγίους  
the Word is gladdened, εὐφραίνεται,

δι' οὗ Πατὴρ δοξάζεται,  
to whom ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.  
Amen.

Having raised up our saints, ἁγίους,  
in them He will be gladdened, εὐφραν-  
θήσεται.

δοξάζων τὸν Πατέρα,  
to Him be δόξα εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων  
Amen.

No stress can be laid on the mere final words of doxology. But I do lay stress on the sameness of the important words, and the sameness of their position in both passages. We may almost perceive the same handwriting in both sentences.

Let us now proceed to compare the Epistle proper with sundry writings of Hippolytus. We take the introductory section of the Epistle to Diognetus and compare it with an Epistle of Hippolytus beginning in a very similar manner, much longer and full of extracts from Scripture—I mean that on Christ and Antichrist, Lagarde, p. 3. Both begin with a slight imitation of St. Luke's introduction to his Gospel, which is addressed to a probably imaginary person as *κράτιστε Θεόφιλε*; and Hippolytus calls his friend also Theophilus, while the other Epistle is addressed to *κράτιστε Διόγνητε*. While Theophilus is a suitable name of a Christian, Diognetus, Jove-sprung, is equally adapted to a pagan inquirer. And the Epistle begins with *ἐπειδή ὁρῶ*, like St. Luke's *ἐπειδήπερ*, and mentions the desire of Diognetus to learn something about the Christian religion. In like manner Hippolytus mentions the desire of Theophilus to be informed on the subject of his inquiry, so as to know *κατ' ἀκρίβειαν*, like St. Luke's *κατ' ἀσφάλειαν*. He imitates St. Luke also by saying *εὐλογον ἡγησάμην* like the Evangelist's *ἔδοξε κάμοι*. So far the Epistles resemble one another, though, as both imitate the Gospel, perhaps we ought not to lay too much stress upon this alone. Again, in the Epistle to Diognetus, it would have sufficed, in a general way, to have expressed the subject of inquiry; while, in fact, we have, as already mentioned, a catalogue of particular matters of inquiry set out by the writer. So in like manner Hippolytus, after having, in his Proem, as he says, sufficiently mentioned what was needful, returns to the subject, "What and from whence will be the appearance of Antichrist," subjoining a series of ten questions respecting him. So far there is a great similarity of manner.

The questions of Diognetus being set out, the writer proceeds to say: "I welcome this your desire, and ask from God, who enables us both to speak and to listen, that

there be given, ἐμοὶ εἰπεῖν οὕτως ὡς μάλιστα ἀκοῦσαί σε βελτίῳ γενέσθαι, σοὶ τε οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα. Then Hippolytus, after his preliminary remarks, says that a common benefit would accrue to both, "τὸ μὲν λέγοντι, that keeping in mind he might rightly expound the matter proposed, τῷ δὲ ἀκούοντι to apply his understanding to the things spoken. Since, therefore, the task proposed is common to both, τῷ μὲν λέγοντι, τὸ ἀκίνδυνον ἐξειπεῖν, τῷ ἀκούοντι δὲ πιστῶς ἀκούσαντα καταδέξασθαι τὰ λεγόμενα, I exhort you to strive with me in prayer to God." I need not point out the resemblance which is so evident in these passages.<sup>1</sup>

In Diognet. ii., the vanity of the pagan idols, and the folly of regarding them as gods, is set out, as we have seen, at great length. The only work of Hippolytus exclusively addressed to pagans is the *περὶ παντός*. Of this we possess only a portion. In that he speaks of those "that have honoured as God the vain works of men, fabricated idols." I mention this because in neither case is any notice taken of the plea by which the more enlightened pagans excused the use of idols, and it has a strange appearance that it should have been left unnoticed, and only the vulgar belief spoken of. I only mention this to obviate an objection that offered itself to my own mind. It is too slender to lay any stress on. In the sequel the writer insists on the folly of worshipping their idols with blood and savours, which they would not endure if offered to themselves, because they have senses which the idols have not. This is more fully discussed in the case of the Jews.

<sup>1</sup> It is right, however, that I should mention the somewhat similar commencement of the *Exhortatio ad Græcos* ascribed to Justin M., whoever was the author of that discourse. "Beginning this exhortation to you, O Grecian men, I pray to God that it may be my lot to say to you the things

needful, . . . but that you may choose the things that are profitable now." It will be observed, however, that the words are not the same as in the above passages, and that the compactness of this is quite unlike the diffuseness of the others.

In section iii. the writer takes up the inquiry of Diognetus, why the Christians do not worship God after the manner of the Jews? To this he replies as follows:—  
 “The Jews then if they abstain from the forementioned worship, and if [εἰ for the εἰς of the MS.] they demand to worship one God supreme, and to believe in Him as Lord [do well]. But if they render to Him this divine service in the same manner as the forementioned they utterly mistake.” He goes on to say that while the Greeks in offering such things to senseless idols give an example of want of reason, ἀφροσύνης, the Jews should consider it rather idiocy, μωρίαν, to offer such things to God as if in need of them. For how could He that made heaven and earth and all that therein is, and supplies us all with the things we need, want the things that He Himself grants to us? In this the writer no doubt had in mind the well-known words of the 50th Psalm. Those who think (οἱ δὲ γε) to perform sacrifices by blood and savour and whole-burnt offerings, differ nothing from those that offer them to senseless idols, τῷ γε δοκεῖν τινα παρέχειν τῷ μηδενὸς προσδεομένῳ. The reader should notice the use of that most significant of all Greek particles, γε, “at least in case they think to confer a benefit on Him that stands in need of nothing.” The writer is addressing a person who knows nothing of the Mosaic legislation and says nothing of it, but attacks a superstitious view of the intent of sacrifices, which the pagans, in accordance with their own conceptions, were likely to attribute to the Jews, perhaps rightly as regards those the heathen came into contact with. This has been supposed by some to indicate that the Epistle must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem. But it supposes a pretty wide extension and noticeable daily enlargement of the Church in spite of continued and constant persecution, which scarcely existed at so early a period. And it has been shown that at first the Jews had



instituted some kind of private sacrifices, after their dispersion, as a substitute for those prescribed by their ritual; see Semisch, Justin M., vol. i., p. 196, Ed. Bibl. Cab., No. xli., J. Clark, Edinburgh.

But, now, did not Hippolytus think highly of the Old Testament? He certainly did of the prophetic parts. But we are not without reason for thinking that he scarcely looked with much reverence on the sacrificial institutions of the Law. There is extant a tract entitled "Hypothesis of a Treatise on the Psalms by Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome." This begins as follows:—"The Book of Psalms contains a new teaching after the legislation of Moses; and that the book is a second teaching after the writing of Moses. At least after the death of Moses and Joshua, and after the Judges, David having arisen, and having, as it were, thought himself worthy to be called the Saviour's father, first delivered to the Hebrews a new method, that of Psalmody, by which he does away with, ἀναίρει, the enactments in Moses respecting sacrifices, and introduces the method of worshipping God by hymns and acclamations; and he teaches many things going beyond the law of Moses through his entire work." Whether this last clause is spoken of David's work or that of Hippolytus on the Psalms, is not clear. But the word ἀναίρει is very strong, and Hippolytus must have had in mind such sayings as are to be found in the 50th and 51st Psalms, and subsequently in Isaiah i. So far, therefore, as the treatment of the sacrifices in the Epistle might be thought impossible in the case of Hippolytus, it is quite in the opposite direction. And it is certainly in the same hypothetical manner, and with reference to the popular superstitious manner in which the other Jewish peculiarities were regarded by the Jews themselves, and as they would be understood by their pagan neighbours, that these peculiarities are treated in the next section. The conclusion is that Christians

rightly keep aloof from the absurdities and deceit common to both Jews and Gentiles, and from Jewish curiosity and vainglory.

In section vii. the divine mission of the Word is thus described:—"For not as an earthly invention was this delivered to them, nor do they demand to preserve so carefully a mortal imagination, ἐπίνοιαν, nor have they been entrusted with an economy of human mysteries; but He that is truly the all-ruling and all-creating and unseen God, Himself settled and established in their hearts from heaven the Truth and the Word, holy and unthought of by men." With this we may compare the *Philosophúmena* x., 33, p. 337. "Such is our faith, not of people obeying empty phrases, nor caught by spontaneous inventions, σχεδιάσμασι, of the heart, nor soothed by plausibility of well-spoken words, but of men not disbelieving words spoken by divine power. And these things God gave in charge to the Word." The close similarity of thought in these passages, the contrast between human invention and divine communication, and the agency of the Logos in both, are obvious.

The Epistle proceeds to say that God did not send, as one might expect, "some minister, or angel, or ruler, or one of those that order earthly affairs, or one of those entrusted with the administrations in heaven, but the very fabricator and demiurge of all things." So, also, Hippolytus presently after the foregoing says that "He was visibly manifested, that the world beholding might be in awe, not giving injunction by the person of prophets, nor putting the soul in fear by an angel, but Himself that spake being present." Here again the coincidence is evident.

Again, in the same section, we are told:—"He sent Him as saving, as persuading, not forcing, βιαζόμενος, for βία does not belong to God. He sent Him as inviting,

καλῶν, not driving away." Then, in immediate sequence with the passage of Hippolytus just quoted, we have the Word by His utterances, "turning man from disobedience, not subjecting by force, βίᾳ, of necessity, but in voluntary freedom by choice inviting, καλῶν." I can hardly believe that these coincidences are accidental, closely agreeing in thought and manner, and closely connected in each case in a short compacted compass.

I shall now compare a passage in the Epistle, viii., with one from the Philosophumena, iv. 43, p. 77, and for convenience put them in parallel columns:

## DIOGNET. viii.

Who of mankind at all knew before His coming, τί ποτ' ἐστὶ Θεός; or should you accept the empty and silly words τῶν ἀξιοπίστων φιλοσόφων; \*Ὡν οἱ μὲν τινες πῦρ ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν Θεόν, οὐ μέλλουσι χωρήσειν αὐτοὶ τοῦτο καλοῦσι Θεόν.

Οἱ δὲ ὄδωρ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ἐκτισμένων ὑπο Θεοῦ.

However, if any one of these definitions is to be accepted, each one of the other creatures may in like manner be declared to be God.<sup>1</sup>

## PHILOSOPHUMENA, iv. 43.

In all that in the world, φιλοσόφοις καὶ θεολόγοις that have investigated, there has been no agreement περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τί ἐστὶν ἢ ποδαπός; Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι πῦρ·

Οἱ δὲ πνεῦμα· οἱ δὲ ὄδωρ, ἕτεροι δὲ γῆν.

\*Ἐκαστον δὲ τῶν στοιχείων ἑλαττόν τι ἔχει, καὶ ἕτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἡττᾶται.

The clause in the above respecting fire, "to which they are about to go," is not a surplusage introduced by way of a threat, but only completes the doctrine less fully stated in the Philosophumena. For Hippolytus himself tells, i., p. 9, that Empedocles held that the intelligible fire of the monad is God, and that all things consist of fire and will be resolved into fire, in which opinion, he says, Heraclitus agreed. The two concluding sentences in each express the same idea. The reader may compare with advantage the above, with the manner quite different in which the 'Cohortatio ad Græcos' treats the same argument. In the

<sup>1</sup> In this sentence the other creatures plainly mean the other elements.

above the Epistle is a little more diffuse than Hippolytus, but the agreement is remarkable.

In this section we have the purpose of sending our Lord thus mentioned, *ἐννοήσας δὲ μεγάλην—ἐννοῖαν*. With this we may compare the phrase in the *Philosophumena*, x. 33, *ἐννοηθεὶς ἀπογεννᾷ*, used of the generation of the Word.

At the close of this section there is a passage already noticed, in which it is said in reference to the blessings conferred by the coming of Christ, ‘which of us could have expected, *προσεδόκησεν*?’ but God had known all in himself with the Son, *οἰκονομικῶς*.’ We have here brought together two phrases in close proximity, which in like proximity appear in another work generally recognized to belong to Hippolytus; I mean those parts of the Apostolical Constitutions, Lib. viii., which are extracted from his work, *περὶ χαρισμάτων ἢ ἀποστολικῇ παράδοσις*. In Lagarde, p. 82, we find direction to keep the feast Ascension “on account of the completion of the Christian economy, *οἰκονομίας*.” And then in a couple of lines after we are to keep the Nativity, “on account of the unexpected, *ἀπροσδόκητον*, grace bestowed on men.” I am unwilling to lay much stress upon this, except as it may be due to an association of ideas by which two phrases once used together come to mind again on another occasion in a way familiar to most people.

In the section which follows, ix., the Epistle tells why God so long delayed the Christian revelation. It was not that He had pleasure in men’s unrighteousness, or consented to their sin, *ἀλλὰ τὸν νοῦν δικαιοσύνης δημιουργῶν*. Here, of course, the creation of the faculty of the understanding cannot be meant, but the practical understanding of it. This was to be acquired through experience of evil, and the incapability of man by himself to attain to righteousness or to escape the expected retribution and punishment of sin. And this last at least implies the imposition of Law, though that is not expressed. This

use of νοῦς, to denote the practical understanding acquired by experience,<sup>1</sup> throws light on a passage in the *Philosophûmena*, x. 33, p. 336. Hippolytus there says that, "when man came into existence, he was a living being having self-determination, ἀντεξούσιον, not ruling, οὐ νοῦν ἔχον, not by contrivance and authority and power governing all things, but servile, and having all things against him." A comparison with the Epistle shows that Hippolytus did not deny to man at his creation the faculty of understanding, but the practical understanding acquired by experience. And this is followed up by a similar development of thought, "Having free will he generates evil in addition, ἐπιγεννᾷ, a thing not produced by accident if you do it not. For in willing and intending, νομίζειν, something evil has its name, not originally existing, but a superfetation. Man being free, law was ordained by God." It is clear that the understanding to be acquired was to be through the experience of evil in opposition to law. The train of thought in both writings seems to be exactly similar.

In section x. the imitation of God is inculcated. "Having loved Him, you will be an imitator of His goodness. And marvel not if man does become an imitator of God; he can, it being His will. To be happy is not to rule over our neighbours; nor to wish to have advantage over the weaker; nor to be rich and oppress the more needy; nor in these respects can one imitate God. These are beside His greatness. But whosoever takes on him his neighbour's burden, who in whatever he has the advantage wishes to benefit him that is deficient, whatever he possesses that he has received from God, that supplying to those that are in need, becomes a god to those that receive, this man is an imitator of God." All this is the

<sup>1</sup> It will be presently seen that Bunsen's and Wordsworth's alterations of the text are needless.

conclusion from the previous love of God set forth at length, and ending with the sending of "His Son, the only begotten." Now let us turn to the *Philosophûmena*, x. 33, p. 338. Having said that our Lord's manhood ἐκ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς φύραματος γεγονέναι, he proceeds: "For if he was not from the same, in vain does he legislate to imitate the Master. For if he, as man, possessed a different substance, why does he ordain the like things to me that am weak by nature, and how is he just and good?" This question he answers by enumerating the sufferings and humiliations of our Lord. "That He might not be thought different from us, He hath endured weariness, and was willing to hunger, and did not refuse to thirst, and took rest in sleep, and did not resist suffering, and became obedient to death, displayed resurrection, making His own man the first fruit in all these, that you should not be disheartened when suffering, but confessing yourself to be man should expect, you too, what you have rendered to Him." In both writings the question of the possibility of imitating is the same, and in both it is founded on the coming of our Lord, though the imitation specified is, in one case, doing good to others, in the other patience in suffering. The qualified use of the name God in the Epistle may be compared with the last page of the "*Philosophûmena*." "You have become a god. For what sufferings you have undergone being a man, these assign to the fact that you are a man. But whatever things are attendant on a god, these God hath promised to bestow, when you are made a god." This qualified use of the name was common in the early Christian writings, and was probably derived from 2 Pet. v. 4, "that by these ye may be partakers of a divine nature."

In the foregoing comparisons I venture to think I have given many coincidences of expression and still more of thought. I do not pretend that they are all of equal weight, or any of them by itself sufficient to prove identity of

authorship. But I venture to think that their accumulation has great weight, which is the proper force of all cumulative arguments.

In comparing the Epistle to Diognetus with its Appendix I insisted on the existence in both, in a marked degree, of the so-called mannerism of running into series of words, clauses, and sentences, parallel or antithetical, with like grammatical construction. This, by its frequency, becomes a striking peculiarity, and it is equally characteristic of the writings of Hippolytus. Some of the passages I have quoted from him already are examples which I need not repeat. But the habit prevails in all his writings, though it does not at first sight appear so much in the *Philosophúmena*; but this is owing to the nature of that work, a very large part of it consisting of extracts from other writings. And when the writer only summarizes the works he refers to, he does it evidently in very much in the words of the writer he is quoting. For this is manifest from the constant succession of such phrases as *ταῦτά ἐστι, φησί,—καὶ πάλιν, φησὶν,—τοῦτό ἐστι, φησί*, carried on through pages, but whenever an opportunity is afforded the writer himself breaks into enumerations.<sup>1</sup> Of this enumerative habit we have an example at the close of the Proem. He speaks of the diffinity of his undertaking, but it will hereafter afford him enjoyment, “as an athlete with much labour winning a crown, or a merchant after great tossing of the sea obtaining gain, or a husbandman, after the sweat of his face, enjoying the fruits; or a prophet, after reproaches and insults, seeing his words come to pass.” Leaving the succeeding bulk of the work to the reader’s observation, we find at the close of the ninth book, in reference to his previous account of the various heresies, the work ac-

<sup>1</sup> See in Miller, p. 201 at the end, examples of a constantly recurring habit through the best part of the entire work.  
p. 205, 67 *seqq.*, 216, 99 *seqq.*,  
p. 280, 58 *seqq.* But these are only

complished is summed up in series of clauses, each ending with a participle, διαδραμόντες—ἐξειπόντες—καταλιπόντες—παρασχόντες. Then, in the beginning of Book X., we have a similar list, οὐκ—μεταλαβών, οὐδ'—διδαχθείς, οὐδὲ—σοφισθείς, οὐδὲ—καταπλαγείς. And I find in this book five notable examples of this manner, including the enumeration of the different nations addressed, as already extracted. And this is a gratuitous instance, for one general term would have equally served the writer's purpose.

But in the minor works of Hippolytus, which are of a more popular and rhetorical character, we find the habit exemplified still more fully, and to give instances at large would be an endless task. But, as I have already given from the Epistle a long series of continuous subordinate series, each marked by a different construction, so I shall here give from the Theophany a like continuous series of successive subordinate series, only marking by a stroke where each new series with a different construction begins. The Theophany thus sets out—"Beautiful, and beautiful exceedingly are all the creative works of our God and Saviour, both whatever the eye beholds, and whatever the soul thinks of, and whatever reason interprets, and whatever the hand turns about, and whatever thought encompasses and humanity comprehends. | For what beauty is more multiple than the heavenly disk? What appearance more many-flowered than the earthly encompassment, χορίου? What more swift to run than the solar chariot? What more graceful pair, ζυγόν, than the lunar star-sign, στοιχείου? What more worthy of admiration than the many spotted music-room, μουσείου, of the stars? What more rich for produce than the seasonable breezes? What mirror more unspotted than the light of day? What living being more noble than man? | For beautiful, and beautiful exceedingly, are all the creative works of our God and Saviour. But what gift also is more needful than the



nature of water? For by the waters all things are both bathed and nourished, and purified and moistened. | Water begets the dew, cheers the vine; water brings to perfection the standing corn; water brings the cluster into berries; water makes the oil tender; water sweetens the palm tree; water makes the rose to blush, and the violet to bloom; water nourishes the lily with golden chalices." I may here add on my own account, what the author does at this point, *καὶ τί μακρολογῶ*; and all this ending with the glorification of water is intended to lead up to the baptism of our Lord, which is the subject of the discourse, the Theophany of which he writes. Its seemingly uncalled-for copiousness plainly marks a mental habitude, and the reader, by comparing it with the example just referred to in the Epistle to Diognetus, cannot fail to perceive a very remarkable similitude of style, and a peculiarity amounting to a characteristic mannerism.

I shall now pass to another point of similarity which, by its frequency alike in the Epistle and its appendix, and in the writings of Hippolytus, form a marked and striking peculiarity. I mean a habit of harping upon words, and playing upon the same and cognate words with varying shades of meaning, and at times on different and unconnected words with a likeness of sound. In the Epistle this habit is common where only two words are brought into close proximity, such as *καινός, καινού—ἀνέχεται, ἀνέξεται—κοινήν, οὐ κοινήν*, and in three terms, as at the end of section i., *ἀκούειν, ἀκοῦσαι, ἀκοῦσαι*, is so frequent that it would be needless to exhibit the instances; the reader who looks through the Epistle with this in view will find it abundant. But sometimes it extends to greater length. Thus, in section viii., where we have *πέμπων* followed by *ἐπεμψεν*, this verb being harped on eight times in five lines, while triple instances are more frequent, as in vi., where *σώματος, σώματι, σώματος*, in three lines, and *ἀόρατος, ὁρατῶ, ἀόρατος*

in the same number, these two last examples being the more significant as they follow one another immediately. In ix. we have, besides several combinations of the words ἀδύνατον, δυνάμει, δύνατοι, and, after a considerable interval, ἀδύνατον, δύνατον, ἀδύνατα; and in x. ἀγαπήσασιν, ἀγαπήσεις, προαγαπήσαντα, ἀγαπήσας in close proximity.

Now, if we turn to the appended sections, we find the same habit. Thus we have λόγος in different cases repeated four times in six lines, and then λογισθέντες, and soon after λογισθείς. Mixed up with these we have φανερώς, ἐφανέρωσεν, φανείς, φανῆ, φανείς, φανεροῦσα. Also καιροῦς, χαίρουσα from similarity of sound. And then ὄρια, ὄρια, παρορίζεται, where the writer's habit forbids the conjectural ὄρκια for the first ὄρια, adopted in the Lightfoot Text from Lachmann. Also χάρις, χάριν, χάρις are repeated in close proximity. So likewise in xii. we have πάγκαρπον, καρποῖς; ξύλον several times near one another, ἀναιρεῖ, ἀναιρεῖ, διὰ γνώσεως ζωὴν, ζωὴ ἄνευ γνώσεως, γνώσις ἄνευ ζωής. Thus, the Epistle and its appendix coincide in this peculiarity of manner.

The prevalence of this habit may help us in filling the lacunae which exist in the MS. Thus, in iv., we have τῶν καιρῶν ἀλλαγὰς καταδ[ ] πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν ὁρμάς. Now καταδιαίρειν and καταρρυθμίζειν have been proposed. It would be more in accordance with the writer's manner to read, with a play upon ἀλλαγὰς, καταδιαλλάσσειν, in the sense of bringing into agreement. In v. we have, as printed, τράπεζαν κοινὴν ἀλλ' οὐ [κρίτην] κοινὴν. The word introduced, though affording a play on the sound, seems out of place, and does not agree with the verb παρατίθενται, a word very proper for laying a table, but not suitable to preparing a bed. But it appears that the lacuna did not exist in the original MS., but only in Stephen's copy of it. It is not needful to supply anything; the adjective, in a double sense, is agreeable to the writer's habit. In xi. we have ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανείς, καὶ [ ] εὐρεθείς καὶ πάντοτε

νέος κ.τ.λ. The usual way of supplying the vacancy is by παλαιός. But the pre-existence was not found but revealed. A better meaning is Böhl's conjecture ἐν σαρκί. But perhaps the three latter clauses are together the antithesis to ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, and we should either read καινῶς, or νεωστί. In xii. we have ξύλον φέρων καὶ καρπὸν [ ] ρῶν. The best of the conjectures is φανερών, but I should prefer a word cognate to φέρων, and εὐφορῶν would be suited to the writer's manner.

I turn now to Hippolytus, and find the same habit of playing on words exhibited in all his writings. I take a few examples from the smaller writings first. I have already given a passage from the Περὶ Χριστ. καὶ Ἀντιχριστ. Lagarde, p. 36, where the Baptist is made to say : I relaxed a mother's στείρωσιν, did not make virginity barren, ἐστείρωσα. This is the more noticeable because the first word is used in a physical sense, the second clearly not in a direct physical signification. I have also mentioned from Noet., p. 50, ὃ θέλει, καθὼς θέλει, ὅτε θέλει, and from p. 192, ὃ πρακτέον, ὅτε πρακτέον, ὡς πρακτέον. The same is to be found in other writings which I need not specify, as the Philosophūmena will abundantly exhibit this tendency. It is everywhere with a mere double repetition, and frequent with a larger number. Thus in the Proem, p. 3, we have ἄξια ἄξιως, and in the line after in the same sentence κατ' ἄξιαν. And a little before παραδιδύασιν· παραδοθέν, μετέδουσαν in three lines, and several other instances. Again, in p. 7, in two lines γίνεσθαι—γενομένων γένεσις γίνεται. But this is so frequent that a few of the more remarkable will suffice out of a large list which I have noticed. In p. 47 we have in five lines λόγος four times in different forms, with λεγόμενοι in five lines, which may be compared with a like repetition of the same word, with its cognate λογισθεῖς already noted in Diognetus xi., where the mission of the λόγος is described. And with this we may also compare

x. 33, where the generation of it is explained. And as in Diognetus vi. we notice three forms of *σῶμα*, so in Phil. p. 27, we have a like repetition of the same word. The word *δοκέω* is in frequent instances played on, as in p. 4, *δοκεῖ—τὰ δόξαντα*; p. 20, the same words following *δοκοῦμεν*; also in p. 44 and in p. 92, *δοκεῖ, δοκοῦντα, δόγματα, δοκεῖ*.

I shall presently notice other examples of the play on this word. In p. 100, after quoting the words of St. Paul, Rom. i., as misapplied by the heretics, there follows a parenthesis in which the *ἀσχημοσύνην* of St. Paul is played on with *ἀσχημοσύνη, ἀσχημάτεστος, σχημάτων, σχηματίζομένοις*. And these are clearly the words of Hippolytus himself; while in other similar instances it is difficult to distinguish his own words from those of the heretics he is exposing. Thus, in p. 98, we have *αὔξει* and its cognates repeated six times in six lines, with *φησί* repeated three times. But it is highly probable that the frequent repetition of the former is due to Hippolytus himself in expounding the doctrine he is describing.

Instances of this kind might be multiplied considerably. But we may add some where he is certainly not mixing his own words with those of others. Thus, in viii. 8, he plays on *δοκόν, δοκεῖ, δόγματα*, in reference to the Doceties, and again more fully in 11, where the same words are played on with *δοκός* through the whole section. In the course of it he says: "They have called themselves *δοκήτας*. Of whom we do not mind *τὸ δοκεῖν*, the seeming to be some vain talkers, but we evince the beam *δοκόν* in their eye brought from so great a wood, if by any means they might be enabled to see distinctly; *εἰδοῦκαν τομηντέρους τυφλῶσαι*." Miller's conjectural emendation of this is very unsatisfactory. The play on the word might perhaps suggest some other form of *δοκέω*, and we might read *εἰ δοκοῦν τὸ μὴ ἔτερος τυφλῶσαι*, if their purpose is not to blind others, *i. e.* if they are not wilfully blind and are not determined to blind

others.<sup>1</sup> I could greatly enlarge these examples, but the habit is so patent, that it seems quite needless.

An objection might be made to any conclusion from the foregoing comparison of Hippolytus with the Epistle to Diognetus, that the Greek of the latter is very facile, while that of Hippolytus is not so, being sometimes very crabbed. But this is only the case in the *Philosophumena*. In that difficulties are largely due to the very corrupt state of the text, caused, no doubt, by the unfamiliar nature of the subjects treated on, and not intelligible to the copyists. And I think where Hippolytus has his hand free there is not the same difficulty. There is also a great difference between short tracts of a rhetorical kind and a *justum volumen* undertaken to expound matters of a controversial nature, in which the author's own words are mixed up with those of others.

And now I may remark that, in the case of Hippolytus, it would be nothing strange that a writing of his should be found anonymous, or fathered on some one innocent of it. His earlier and shorter tract on the heresies has been attributed in a Latin form to Tertullian, and attached to his *De Præscriptionibus*. The compilers of the Apostolical Constitutions have appropriated a large portion of his work on the *Charismata*. His *περὶ παντός* has been assigned to several, Josephus amongst others, and to

<sup>1</sup> Miller's note is, *εἰ δὲ* (pro *εἰ δὲ μή*), *οὐκ ἂν τοὺς ἡμετέρους τυφλωσαιν*. Professor Swete, of Cambridge, having in his "Achmim Fragment," p. xlii, mentioned Hippolytus as "playing all round the name, *i.e.* of the doceties, in the above passage, I sent him the conjecture I have mentioned. He would prefer to read *εἰ δ' οὐ, κἄν*, and to suppose something lost from the text, the meaning being that if they cannot be made to see, at any rate he might save others from being blinded by them. If

we adopt this, I am not sure that any more is needed than to supply the word *δυνηθῶσιν* at the end, which was either dropped by a copyist, or, perhaps, left to be supplied by the reader from the preceding clause. *Εἰ δ' οὐ* referring to a past verb, and not one following, should be *εἰ δὲ μή*. Hermann, on Viger, p. 793, says he never saw it so used. But that is no matter here, as Hippolytus himself has it on p. 9, 21. The *τὸ* should, however, be omitted.

Gaius, if this is the historical Caius, and not meant for Hippolytus under a second name. And his greatest work, the *Philosophûmena*, lost in its greater part till 1850, and of which only the first book was previously known, was for long ages ascribed to Origen, and published as his by Miller when he had discovered the best part of the remainder. Even the personal history of Hippolytus had been hitherto in a state of confusion and uncertainty. His labours having been mainly in Rome, it is not to be wondered at that this confusion should have existed in the East. But the history he gives us in the ixth book touching the state of the Roman Church in his days, so damaging to its character, even if we make allowance for **exaggeration** under the influence of personal pique, is sufficient to account for an unpopularity there, and the comparative neglect of his writings in the West. So it has come to pass that it was not in the West that this work was in its larger part recovered, but came to us at last from Athos.

It is not for me to pronounce what measure of probability attends the supposition I have ventured to make in the foregoing pages. I cannot believe that it is groundless. In a case of this kind certainty is not to be expected.

J. QUARRY.

*NUGAE PROCOPIANAE.*

THE following are a few notes on Book I. of the *Gothic War*, on points which occurred to me in re-reading it in the new edition of Comparetti (published by the Italian Historical Institute, and handsomely printed at the Palazzo dei Lincei), the first instalment of the first critical edition of any part of Procopius—previous editions having depended almost entirely on inferior MSS. Dom. Comparetti has done his work well; his Italian translation is good; and perhaps the only defect (apart from a few misprints in the text) is the accumulation of some unnecessary material in the critical apparatus. When it rains, it sometimes pours; and we are promised, from the Teubner Press, a complete edition of Procopius by Dr. J. Haury. Comparetti's work is confined to the *Gothic War*, as it is included in a series which is concerned only with *fonti per la storia d'Italia*.

I. i. καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὕτη [ἡ ἐπιρροή] ἀφίκηται τὰ τε πλοῖα κατὰ βραχὺ ἐκ γῆς ἐπαιρόμενα πλεῖ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ ναῦται ἔργου ἐχόμενοι ναυτίλλονται ἤδη. [Herwerden, ἀμφ' αὐτὰ or ἀμφὶ ταῦτα.] The sea runs inland in the early morning (πρωτὶ) a good day's journey, and retreats ἀμφὶ δειλὴν ὥσιν. The preparations of the sailors must apparently be begun, and the ships made quite ready to sail during the night; therefore I suggest

οἱ ἀμφὶ νύκτα ναῦται ἔργου ἐχόμενοι.

ἀμφὶ νύκτα (like ἀμφὶ δειλὴν), 'in the course of the night.'

*Ib.* 12, p. 100. ἄρχοντάς τε αἰὲ καὶ στρατιὰν Θευδέριχος ἔς τε Γαλλίαν καὶ Ἰσπανίαν πέμπων αὐτὸς εἶχετο ἔργον, τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος προνοήσας τε ὕπως βέβαιον αὐτῷ ἔς αἰὲ ἔξει. So Comparetti with the Vatican MSS. [Vulg. προνοούμενος ὅπως]. A participle co-ordinate with προνοήσας is demanded. Read

τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κρα<υνάμενος κράτος  
προνοήσας τε ὅπως κ.τ.λ.

*Ib.* 14, 112. Ῥώμη τε αὖθις ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ὑπὸ μηνός, ἐνδέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, ἦλω.

Maltreto's conjecture θ' ἀπελλαίου μηνός (based on Evagrius and Nicephorus Callistus) may be right. ὕστερον ἢ ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος (cp. I. i. *ad init.*) occurred to me as a possibility.

As the current year was the tenth of Justinian, critics have observed that δέκατον is required. We must read

δέκατον δὲ ἔτος

which accounts for the corruption. ΙΔΕΤΟΣ was read as ΙΑΕΤΟΣ.

*Ib.* 15, p. 118. τούτου δὲ τοῦ κόλπου ἐντὸς πόλισμα πρῶτον ὁ Δρνοῦς οἰκεῖται, ὅπερ τανῦν Ὑδροῦς καλεῖται. This sentence is generally misunderstood, and it is consequently proposed to read Ὑδροῦς for ὁ Δρνοῦς and Ὀδροῦς for Ὑδροῦς. But we need not change a letter. We have only (with a late MS.) to write ὁ Δρνοῦς as one word, Ὀδροῦς, and translate: 'the first city within the gulf is Odryus, by which name (ὅπερ sc. ὄνομα) Hydrus is now called.'

*Ib.* 18, p. 131. ὃς δὲ [ἵππος] ὄλον μὲν τὸ σῶμα φαίδος ἦν τὸ μέτωπον δὲ ἅπαν ἐκ κεφαλῆς μέχρι ἐς ῥίνας λευκὸς μάλιστα. τοῦτον Ἕλληνας μὲν φαλὶὸν βάρβαροι δὲ βέλαν καλοῦσι.

So Vulg., but the best MSS. have βέλαν. Should we keep βέλαν and regard it as derived from the Slavonic



*bel*, Russian *bieli*, white? βάλας would be connected with Celtic *bal*, a white spot or streak.

*Ib.* (last line of same page) ἀλλὰ ξυμβάλλοντες οὐκ εἰκῇ τὸν λόγον ἐπιπολάζοντα ὥς πάντας ἶέναι.

ἐς πάντας is read by Comparetti. But why not retain the *preposition* ὥς?

*Ib.* 22, p. 162. θύρας δὲ προβεβλημενοι ἐβάδιζον οὐδὲν ἑλασσομένους τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις θυρεῶν.

This, the reading of the best MSS., is, I submit, quite sound, and ought not to have been rejected by Comparetti in favour of Scaliger's θυρεοὺς—ἑλασσομένους—γέρρων. (It is to be observed that Scaliger had before him not θυρεῶν, but δέρρων, the reading of inferior MSS.) γέρρα and θυρεοί were similarly shaped oblong shields, so that it is gratuitous to change the text merely because Herodotus happens to use γέρρα of the oblong Persian shields.

The Persian shields were covered with ox-hide, but that would be no good reason for proposing βύρσας, instead of θύρας. θύρας occurs again below, p. 163, l. 2, where Comparetti, of course, again follows others in reading θυρεούς.

*Ib.* 24. Comparetti gives a facsimile of the reading in V of the famous oracle beginning *Quintili mense*, but he has perhaps not made as good use of it as he might for his text. He prints:—

Quintili mense sub novo Romanus rege nihil Geticum iam metuet

The words *Quintili mense* and *nihil Geticum iam* are certain and had long ago been made out, but the rest is demonstrably wrong. Using the data furnished by these identifications, I read the two words after *mense* as unquestionably *si regnum*. Then follows, I think, *stat* (the second letter has the form of *μ*) *in nrbe* (i.e. *urbe*). Between *nihil* and *Geticum* is the letter *u*: apparently *nihilū*; that is, *nihilum Geticum*, which is conceivably

right if we suppose that the oracle was originally metrical. The last mysterious word is quite clear—*azmet*. It cannot be tortured either into *timet* or *metuet*, or any equivalent of the Greek paraphrase which Procopius gives: (ἐξ οὗ δὴ Γετικὸν οὐδὲν ῥώμῃ τὸ λοιπὸν δέισαι. It is perhaps safest to assume that *met* is an error for *me<tue>t*; but *az* remains unexplained.

J. B. BURY.

## SOPHOCLEA.

O. R. 873.

ἄβρις . . . . .  
 ἀκρότατα γείσ' ἀναβᾶσ'  
 ἀπότομον ἄρουνσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν.

In the last line there is a defect of  $\omega$  or  $\neg$ , as the metre shows : read

ἀπότομον ἄλμ' ἄρουνσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν.

Cp. *πήδημ' ὀρούσας*, Aesch. Ag. 826.

906.

φθίνοντα γὰρ Λαΐον  $\cup - \cup -$ .

The lacuna which the metre betrays has been filled up in various ways. Perhaps the most probable supplement would be *τὰ Δαλίου*, which might have fallen out, owing to the close resemblance in form between *Λαΐον* and *Δαλίου*.

The meaning, of course, would be "the oracles of Apollo about Laius."

O. C. 277.

καὶ μὴ θεοὺς τιμῶντες εἶτα τοὺς θεοὺς  
 μοίραις ποιεῖσθε μηδαμῶς.

Jebb has shown clearly that the second negative sometimes does not merely repeat the first, but negates it ; in

fact, that though *μὴ πότε μὴδὲν* normally means "do not do anything," it is capable of the signification "do not do nothing." He has also shown that *μοίρας* (gen.) *ποιῆσθαι* is a perfectly normal phrase, though it does not occur in extant authors. He has, however, obelised the passage. Might not Sophocles have written

*μοίρας ποιῆσθε μηδαμῆς ?*

The meaning must be, "do not, while honouring the gods, do that which in effect brings them into contempt." This case of *μηδαμός* is not found elsewhere in writers of the classic age, but surely this is due to chance. It is quite necessary, to justify the abnormal employment of the negative particles, that the negative should closely cohere with the verb as part of a phrase, *μοίρας μηδαμῆς ποιῆσθαι*, "to throw contempt on."

O. C. 1164.

*σοὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν μολόντ'  
αἰτεῖν ἀπελθεῖν τ' ἀσφαλῶς τῆς δεῦρ' ὁδοῦ.*

The elision at the end of a verse is quite unexampled, except where a pause in the sense preceding the elided word marks it off from the foregoing context, and closely connects it with the sequel. It would seem as if the mistake arose from ascribing to the voice of general report what was really the suppliant's personal statement of his desire. This would in itself give a more natural sentiment, and, making *ἐλθεῖν ἀπελθεῖν τ'* stand in juxtaposition, as they ought to stand, we might read

*σοὶ φησὶν αὐτὸς ἐς λόγους αἰτεῖν μολῶν  
ἐλθεῖν ἀπελθεῖν τ' ἀσφαλῶς τῆς δεῦρ' ὁδοῦ.*

*Ant.* 1301.

ἡ δ' ὀξύθηκτος ἦδε βωμία περίξ.

Without accepting Hermann's reading of the whole verse, I would urge the acceptance of his ingenious emendation, *πτέρυξ*, "a sacrificial knife," for *περίξ*. This rare sense would have puzzled the copyist, and so would have exposed the word to corruption; and *περίξ* is just the word which would have taken its place. The proposed emendations all rest on the theory that the scholiast found something in the text answering to his explanation, *περὶ τὸν βωμὸν προπετής*. But there is no reason to believe this. It is far more likely that the scholiast wrongly supposed that *βωμία περίξ*, the corrupt reading which he found, could bear the meaning of "prostrate on the altar," which it certainly could not.

*Trach.* 144.

τὸ γὰρ νεάζον ἐν τοιοῖσδε βόσκεται  
χώροιςιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ νιν οὐ θάλπος θεοῦ  
οὐδ' ὄμβρος οὐδὲ πνευμάτων οὐδὲν κλονεῖ.

For the second verse read—

χώροις, ἵν' οὐ τήκει νιν οὐ θάλπος θεοῦ.

For the repetition of the negative, cp. *Ant.* 6; *Trach.* 158; *Aesch. Ag.* 1634.

*Phil.* 1092.

εἴθ' αἰθέρος ἄνω  
πτωκάδες . . . ἐλῶσιν.

Jebb reads *πέλειαι* δ' ἄνω, and he is certainly right as

regards the required sense ; but I would suggest, as nearer to the MS.,

*αἱ θῆραι δ' ἄνω.*

Cp. ὦ πταναὶ θῆραι, 1146 : αἱ θῆραι would be very like αἰθέριαι (whence αἰθέρος might have sprung in avoidance of the double epithet) in a MS. written before ε and η were discriminated.

## 1131.

ὦ τόξον φίλον, ὦ φίλων  
χειρῶν ἐκβεβιασμένον,  
ἧ που ἐλαινὸν ὄρας, φρένας εἴ τινας  
ἔχεις, τὸν Ἡράκλειον  
ἄθλιον ὦδε σοὶ  
οὔποτε χρησόμενον τὸ μεθύστερον.

Jebb, with many editors, reads ἄρθμιον for ἄθλιον. But this is not a likely error, nor is Ἡράκλειον ἄρθμιον a natural expression for "the comrade of Heracles." If we read

τὸν Ἡρακλείῳ  
ἄθλῳ τῷδέ σοι  
οὔποτε χρησόμενον τὸ μεθύστερον,

we should have a very natural expression. Philoctetes, apostrophising his bow, which was the gift of Heracles to him, as a reward for kindling his funeral pyre, exclaims, "Ah, thou well-beloved bow, surely if thou canst feel, thou seest with pity him who will nevermore use thee, the gift of Heracles to him." When once Ἡρακλείῳ was wrongly assimilated in case to τὸν, the rest of the corruption followed. The metre admits a spondee, as well as a dactyl.

1149.

φυγῆ μ' οὐκέτ' ἀπ' αὐλῶν  
πελάτ'.

Jebb admirably corrects μ' οὐκέτι to *μηκέτι*, and *πελάτ'* to *πηδάτ'*, emendations which involve hardly any change. But *φυγῆ πηδάτ'* is not the best way of expressing "start no more in flight." Read *φύγδα*, which occurs in Aesch. *Eum.* 256, and we have an excellent expression for a hunted animal starting from its lair.

*El.* 21.

ὥς ἐνταῦθ' ἔμην.

Is it necessary to correct by emendation this form of *ἔσμεν* in a poet, who elsewhere gives us unexampled epicisms, such as *ἔμμεν* for *εἶναι*, *Ant.* 622; *εἶν* for *ἐν*, *Ant.* 1241; *αἰέρομ'* for *αἰέρομαι*, *Trach.* 216; *ἔσσομ'* for *ἔσομαι* (usually corrected to *εἴσειμ'*), *El.* 818, and *δθ'* for *δοι*, *ib.* 709? It would seem more reasonable to preserve the epicism in all these places, as a feature of Sophoclean style.

*Aj.* 869.

κοῦδεὶς ἐπίσταται με συμμαθεῖν τόπος.

The change of *συμμαθεῖν* to *συμπαθεῖν* would involve but a slight alteration, and give a good sense. The Chorus, conducting their fruitless quest, find their distress made more poignant by the fact that they are in a foreign and unfamiliar land. There is nothing alien from Sophoclean imagination in speaking of the sympathy which a familiar place may offer to a sorrow which is aggravated by strange scenes. The word *ἐπίσταται* is by no means to be taken as synonymous with *γινώσκει*, but it can mean "knows who

I am," or "is aware of my existence," as will be conceded by anyone who refers to Eur. *Ion.* 51; Ar. *Eg.* 1278 (and Blaydes' note there). The verse, however, is in a lyrical passage, and may have been twisted into a *senarius*, a fate which often awaits verses capable of such treatment when they are found among lyrical measures. Herodian tells us that Sophocles used the phrase *μέτρον μάταις*. It is possible that the verse here should be dochmiac, and that we should read—

κούτις ἐπίσταται μέτρα ματᾶν τόπος,

"no place knows the limits of my fruitless quest"; that is, "I have searched everywhere in vain."

## 884.

ἢ τίς Ὀλυμπιάδων θεᾶν, ἢ ῥυτῶν  
 Βοσπορίων ποτάμων, τὸν ὁμόθυμον . . .  
 ἀπύοι;

"Which of the goddesses of Olympus, or which of the rivers" is, to speak plainly, intolerably bad writing, if the poet meant "which of *the goddesses of* the rivers." After *ποταμῶν* the best MSS. give *ἱδρις*. Surely this points to some nominative indicating some Naiad. The most natural word would be *ἑνυδρος*: cp. Phil. 1454,

Νύμφαι τ' ἑνυδροὶ λειμωνιάδες.

This would demand a change in the antistrophic passage, 930; but there the verse cries out for an inserted substantive. It has been noticed by many edd. that

πάννυχα καὶ φαίθοντ' ἀνεστέναζες

is hardly Greek for "thou didst groan through the dark-



ness and in the light." Blaydes suggested *φαιδωρος*. Adopting this, we might read—

*πύρρυα καὶ φαιδωρος <ἀπα> ἀνερτάλας.*

The inserted word is rare enough, and like enough to the first syllable of the succeeding word, to have been omitted by an average copyist.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

## MARCUS BRUTUS AS CAESARIAN.

WHEN the Civil War broke out between Pompey and Caesar, Marcus Brutus was absent in Asia, looking after his investments. He had lent money to the impecunious King of Cappadocia and to municipalities in Cyprus on the modest terms of 48 per cent.; but he had not succeeded in overawing Cicero into enforcing that illegal contract. With his usual stiffness and ungraciousness, Brutus wrote to Cicero on the matter in an arrogant *de haut en bas* style, which Cicero justly resented.<sup>1</sup> But these letters did not induce Cicero to deviate from the course which he considered right.

Accordingly, when Cicero left his province in the middle of 50 B.C., Brutus appears to have at once hastened thither, along with the new governor, Sestius, in order to see how his demands could most effectively be realized. He had to be "dragged back" by his uncle Cato to take his place in the Pompeian army.<sup>2</sup>

During the spring of 48 B.C., Cicero, writing from Pompey's camp, relates that Brutus was acting with great vigour, adding that prudence forbids him to say more.<sup>3</sup> But Brutus does not appear to have considered that his loyalty need be proof against defeat. Accordingly,

<sup>1</sup> Att. vi. 3, 7: Nullas unquam ad me litteras misit Brutus . . . in quibus non inesset arrogans ἀκαιοῦρότης aliquid: cp. vi. 1, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Aurel. Vict. 82, 5: Civili bello a Catone ex Cilicia retractus Pompeium

secutus est.

<sup>3</sup> Att. xi. 4, 2, Brutus amicus tuus in causa versatur acriter. Hactenus fuit quod caute a me scribi posset. We have added *tuus*; cp. Att. vi. 1, 25.

after the battle of Pharsalus he escaped by night to Larissa, and from that place wrote to Caesar, who, as Plutarch says, was delighted that he was alive. Caesar ordered him to come to him, acquitted him of all blame, and even showed him especial honour.<sup>1</sup> Brutus repaid this by informing Caesar whither Pompey had fled.<sup>2</sup> Loyalty appears to have been a virtue unknown to Brutus. Dante was right to put him in the very jaws of Satan (*Inferno*, Canto xxxiv.)

We hear nothing more of Brutus until the late summer of 47. About that time he defended Deiotarus before Caesar, at Nicaea, in a vigorous speech. It was on this occasion that Caesar made the celebrated criticism on Brutus *quidquid vult valde vult*.<sup>3</sup>

About the same time he wrote to Cicero, apparently informing him that Caesar was not unfavourably inclined towards him. The letter was, no doubt, written in a tone different from the usual cold and superior manner of Brutus. In the *Brutus* Cicero describes, with an emphasis all his own, the delight which this letter afforded him. "I seemed once more to be recalled to the light of day from a long-continued disorder of my whole constitution." But we must not lay too much stress on such language in a work dedicated to Brutus, and written by Cicero, especially when we read in the next clause an equally effusive statement that the gift of the *Annals*

<sup>1</sup>Schmidt (*Grenzboten*, p. 367) justly says that Caesar showed as much regard for the old nobility as Napoleon did for the *ancienne noblesse*.

<sup>2</sup>Plutarch, *Brut.* 6.

<sup>3</sup>The speech appears to have had little enduring merit and no real vigour: cp. *Dial. de Orat.* 21, nisi forte quisquam . . . Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque eiusdem lentitudinis

ac teporis libros legit. Yet the speech was certainly vigorous and outspoken (valde *vehementer* eum visum et *libere* dicere, *Att.* xiv. 1, 2). Cicero, *Brut.* 21, says that he heard that the defence of Deiotarus had been conducted by Brutus *ornatissime* and *copiosissime*, terms which it is surprising to find applied to the oratory of Brutus, and which it is impossible to regard as anything more than effusive politeness.

of Atticus was beyond anything pleasing and appropriate, and roused him from his prostrate condition.<sup>1</sup>

Cicero was, no doubt, very anxious, when he asked himself how he stood with Caesar. He had more than once sent messengers to Caesar during 47; and though he received from him *litteras satis liberales*, written about May (which, however, in all probability, said nothing definite), he was not thoroughly reassured until he had the well-known meeting with Caesar at Tarentum in September.<sup>2</sup> It is very unlikely that, if the letter of Brutus had afforded Cicero such great comfort, as he was polite enough afterwards to say that he drew from it, he would not have spoken of it to Atticus, whom he regarded as the special friend of Brutus.

During the two years which followed, Brutus in public life acted as one of Caesar's ministers, and at the same time was on friendly relations with Cicero and others of the republican party. It is not at all necessary or even desirable that a politician should have no private friendship with those who hold opposite views as to the administration of the State. Accordingly we find ourselves unable to accept the original and ingenious theory of Prof. O. E. Schmidt,<sup>3</sup> that the letter addressed by Brutus to Caesar in 47 was written at Caesar's orders, and that Brutus, as 'decoy-duck,' had been entrusted

<sup>1</sup> Cic. Brut. 12: Me istis scito litteris ex diuturna perturbatione totius valetudinis tamquam ad aspiciendam lucem esse revocatum . . . 13. An mihi potuit esse aut gratior ulla salutatio aut ad hoc tempus aptior quam illius libri quo me hic adfatus quasi iacentem excitavit: cp. § 330.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Fam. xiv. 23; Plut. Cic. 39.

<sup>3</sup> M. Junius Brutus, in "Verhandlungen der 40 Philologenversammlung," Görlitz, 1889, pp. 165-185. It is to this work that reference is

principally made. "Ein falscher Freiheitsheld des Alterthums," in Grenzboten, 1889, Nos. 8, 9, pp. 362-369, 407-414. "Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero," Leipz. 1893. The services of Schmidt, as regards the chronology and elucidation of Cicero's epistles, can hardly be over-estimated, and many of his emendations are admirable. It is almost disconcerting to find oneself at variance with any of his opinions on a historical point.

with the task of drawing over the moderate republicans to acquiescence in Caesar's rule. We think that a person like Brutus, who, with all his respectability and ancient name, was so stiff, so dogged, and so ungracious, was not by any means suited for a duty which required much *finesse*, flexibility of mind, and attractiveness of manner.

Schmidt (page 172) argues, and quotes Roscher on the point, that Caesarism does not in its nature tolerate any opposition, and that Caesar especially, who systematically pursued a policy of degrading the republicans, who made the consulship ridiculous by appointing a consul on the last day of the year, who de-romanized the Senate, and who wrote a treatise against Cato, would not have tolerated that Brutus should be at once his minister and a sincere friend of the republicans. We may, perhaps, urge in reply that, in appointing Rebilus consul for a day, Caesar need not have had any intention of making the consulship ridiculous, though Cicero contributed some jests tending in that direction; it may have been merely an act of excessive formality. To deprive the Senate of its essentially Roman and aristocratic character was part of a large policy of drawing the provincials into the government of the empire, and altogether above the question of the private friendships of his ministers. And the composition of the *Anti-Catos*, far from being a proof of the intolerance of the republican opposition, was rather evidence that such literary opposition on the part of the republicans was to be allowed. Otherwise Caesar would have suppressed the republican *Catos* instead of answering them.

No doubt Brutus did remain on friendly terms with Cicero and the republicans; for in his heart, and owing to his birth and education, he probably really sympathized with their cause. Such we take to be the reason why Brutus, in his treatise *De Virtute* (published early in 46,

and dedicated to Cicero), speaks with some feeling of the impression made upon him by his visit to that staunch republican Marcellus: *cp.* Seneca *De Consolatione ad Helviam*, 9, 4 :—

Brutus in eo libro quem *de Virtute* composuit ait se Marcellum vidisse Mytilenis exultantem et quantum modo natura hominis pateretur beatissime viventem neque unquam cupidiores bonarum artium quam illo tempore. Namque adicit visum sibi se magis in exilium ire qui sine illo rediturus esset quam illum in exilio relinqui. . . . Idem Brutus ait C. Caesarem Mytilenis praeter-  
vectum quia non sustineret videre deformatum virum.

Schmidt, indeed, thinks (173, note 2) that this visit was paid at Caesar's orders for the purpose of winning over Marcellus to Caesar's side. We cannot think that Brutus would have spoken in such language of Marcellus if he had recently attempted unsuccessfully to win him over to sympathy with the monarchy. It is better to suppose that Brutus spoke here from his heart, and that Caesar—if he paid any attention to the treatise at all—tolerated this laudation of a high-principled man, as the laudation was written by Brutus in praise of a former colleague, and in a mere philosophical work. Surely Caesar was generous, and had, as has been said, in him much besides the statesman. Might not the statesman also have wished to show that he was not desirous of stifling every expression of sympathy with the old *régime*? There is a certain limit where repression becomes prejudicial to the interests of him who represses.

But we have positive evidence that Caesar never put any restrictions on his followers in respect of their choice of friends. In the celebrated letter of Matius to Cicero, which is instinct with loyalty and truth, Matius says (*Fam.* xi. 28, 7) :—

Caesar numquam interpellavit quin quibus vellem atque etiam quos ipse non diligebat tamen eis uterem.

And, no doubt, Caesar left as much freedom to Brutus as he did to Matus. That Caesar was generous to literary men, even those who attacked him with unmeasured virulence, is proved from his treatment of Catullus (cp. Suet. Jul. 73). Though Caesar was not as great in 55 as he was in 45, yet even at the former date he was a very influential personage; he was, as Calvus, who gave the note to Catullus, said, the *magnus quem metuunt omnes*. Much more, therefore, would he abstain from interfering with the private friendships of his friend Brutus; and the connexion of Brutus with Cicero and other republicans was mainly one of social and literary intercourse, not one of united political action.

During the two years which followed Cicero's return to Rome, in November, 47, he devoted himself vigorously to literary work, confining himself chiefly to the subject-matter, oratorical theory or philosophy as the case might be, but occasionally, in order to soothe his conscience, saying a word or two to show that, though he did not resist, yet he did not sympathise with the Caesarian régime. First, he composed the *Brutus*, then a panegyric on *Cato*, after that the *Orator*. The first and third were dedicated to Marcus Brutus, who at this time held the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul, a post which he filled with conspicuous success (Plut. Brut. 6). Schmidt is of opinion that Brutus asked Cicero to write something in favour of the new government, and that Cicero did so in the *Brutus*; but, far from being favourable to Caesar's party, that treatise exhibited sympathy with the ruined republic. For instance, it declares that Hortensius was happy in dying before the republic fell (§§ 4, 5), and that Marcellus was living a noble life in exile (250), &c.; cp. §§ 53, 266, 273, 331.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For these passages we are indebted to Schmidt.

Brutus then gave Cicero a second chance of writing a Caesarian pamphlet, when he suggested an essay on Cato. But this *Cato*, when it appeared, was no less republican and anti-monarchical than the *Brutus*. We can hardly imagine, then, that, after his previous failure in the *Brutus*, Brutus, if a Caesarian agent, would not have asked to see the *Cato* before it was published, and when he had seen the lines on which it was written, would not have used his influence to ensure that it should not be given to the world. In connection with these two works, Schmidt excellently refers (174, note 4) to a fragment of a letter from Cicero to Brutus, quoted by Quintilian (v. 10, 9) :—

Veritus fortasse ne nos in *Calonem* nostrum transferremus illim (sc. from the *Brutus*) mali quid etsi argumentum simile non erat.

Brutus rightly thought it more politic that Cicero should avoid needless attacks on the Caesarian party. Cicero himself thought so, too ; a little before he had said to Paetus (Fam. ix. 16, 5) : “ The work for me to do is not foolishly to say any rash word or do any rash deed against the dominant party.”

The most interesting point, as regards the political positions of Brutus and Cicero at this time is what Cicero says in the *Orator*, § 35 :—

Itaque hoc sum aggressus statim *Calone* absoluto ; quem ipsum numquam attigissem, tempora timens inimica virtuti, nisi tibi hortanti et illius memoriam mihi caram excitanti non parere nefas ego duxissem. Sed testificor me a te rogatum et recusantem haec scribere esse ausum. Volo enim mihi tecum commune esse crimen, ut, si sustinere tantam quaestionem non potuero, iniusti oneris impositi tua culpa sit, mea recepti : in quo tamen iudicii nostri errorem laus tibi dati muneris compensabit.

Schmidt thinks that Brutus hoped that Cicero would remember the few occasions on which Cato had crossed his path, and, now that Cato was no more, would be mean



enough to attack him in his grave. We do not deny that Brutus might have been capable of such a suggestion ; but Cicero's language (*memoriam mihi caram excitanti*) precludes us from thinking that he understood the exhortations of Brutus as having any other aim than that he should write a panegyric on Cato. Dr. Sandys (*Orator*, p. lvi) justly says that Cicero wished to shelter himself under the protection of Caesar's *protégé*, in case Caesar should take offence at the way in which he wrote of Cato (cp. *Caecina*, in *Fam.* vi. 7, 4) ; for Cicero's panegyric on Cato, which was indeed to him a *crux* (πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον), could in his judgment only take one form, viz. "an eloquent exposition of his perception that the present state of things would come to pass, of his struggles against its being brought to pass, and of his death, so that he might not see its consummation."<sup>1</sup>

Cicero had no reason to dread Caesar's wrath : there were really no grounds to fear that he would "in boorish fashion make his retort with the sword."<sup>2</sup> Not only was Caesar wise enough to know that considerable latitude in such circumstances was advisable, and that the moderate republicans might discharge their republican sympathies in that way, and so be less dangerous in the sphere of politics ; but we must also remember that Caesar was an ordinary Caesarian, and "that he still cherished all the magnificent dream of a free commonwealth, all that he was unable to transfer it either to his adversaries or his adherents" (Mommsen, *R. H.* iv. 100). Caesar declined to answer the republican *Cato* with the pen, not with the sword. As a sort of an *ébauche* (εἰς πλᾶσμά) of what Caesar's work would have been, Horatius

<sup>1</sup> Att. xii. 4, 2 : Sed vere laudari ille vir non potest, nisi haec ornata sint : quod ille ea, quae nunc sunt, et futura viderit, et ne fierent

contenderit, et si non reliquerit.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Fam.* vi. 7, 4 : "rustice"

the spring of 45 B.C., wrote an invective against Cato, with much praise of Cicero [Att. xii. 40, 1]; and some time later Caesar, notwithstanding all his duties, wrote two *Anti-Catos* [Tac. Ann. iv. 34; Juv. vi. 338]. In these works he praised Cicero's life and eloquence as most resembling those of Pericles and Theramenes.<sup>1</sup>

In a letter to Balbus Caesar appears to have spoken much about the *Catos* of Cicero and Brutus; and with some irony declared that while, from a frequent perusal of the former, he had obtained a more flowing style (*copiosiore factum*), after reading the work of Brutus, he considered himself an eloquent man (*disertum*). The language of Brutus was certainly, as a rule, heavy and cold.<sup>2</sup>

Caesar was large-minded enough to bear with even Brutus when he wrote a panegyric on his uncle Cato, just as he did not resent his words of eulogy on Marcellus (see above, 373). He appears to ignore the subject-matter of the *Catos* of Cicero and Brutus, and to criticise only the style. But the *Cato* of Brutus was a poor work. Not only was it full of errors, but in an ungracious, paltry, jealous manner, Brutus tried to minimize the merits of Cicero in the Catilinarian conspiracy. Schmidt (p. 175)—if we understand him aright—seems to think that the *Cato* of Brutus was inspired by Caesar, because it humiliated Cicero, and because it cleared Caesar of the charge of complicity in the Catilinarian conspiracy, by dwelling on the severity of his opinion delivered at the debate

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Plut. Cic. 39: The praise is high. The judgment on Theramenes as a politician contained in the *Constitution of Athens*, c. 28, is that a diversity of opinion exists about him, as the forms of government at that time were subject to much confusion, "yet he seems to writers who are not superficial, as a man who did not, as is the charge they bring against him,

destroy every form of government, but rather as one who furthered every form within the limits of legality, thinking that he could take his part as a citizen under any of them (and this is the duty of a good citizen), but not tolerating, rather condemning, forms of government when they became contrary to law."

<sup>2</sup> Att. xiii. 46, 2: cp. Att. xv. 1 B., 2.

concerning the treatment of the conspirators as compared with that of the consulars. We rather are inclined to think that Brutus underrated Cicero's acts on this occasion, because he was of a cold, jealous nature, and, as such, was probably offended at Cicero's everlasting glorification of himself and his consulship. Caesar did not want to humiliate Cicero. Both he and Hirtius spoke with praise of him, as we have seen. Even if Brutus was to inflict the chastisement on Caesar's account, surely Caesar himself would have at least refrained from speaking with commendation of Cicero's treatise. The view that Caesar wished openly to conciliate Cicero, and accordingly praised him himself, and urged Hirtius to do likewise; yet at the same time wished to gall him secretly, and accordingly directed Brutus to write slightly about him; would represent Caesar's conduct as so contemptible that we must hesitate to accept it without more definite evidence. And again, Caesar could not be cleared of complicity in the conspiracy by a mere assertion that his opinion was more severe than that of the consulars, even if it were proved to have been the case; for it must have been well-known that Silanus, the consul-elect, spoke for the penalty of death, though he afterwards voted with Caesar (Sall. Cat. 50, 4), and accordingly Caesar, in his proposal, advocated what was considered a less severe alternative punishment.

About June, 45, Brutus divorced his wife Claudia, daughter of Appius Claudius, to whom he had been married for many years. He does not appear to have had any fault to find with her, and he incurred some censure for the divorce (Att. xiii. 9, 2: cp. 10, 3). His reason was that he wanted to marry Cato's daughter, Porcia, widow of Bibulus. This was an event which might well have disquieted Caesar; but he, reflected that it was merely a love match,

was, though it was, in our opinion, also fraught with most important results. We cannot help thinking that Porcia, who was a woman of strong natural affection, devoted to her husband, and full of high spirit and sound judgment,<sup>1</sup> influenced Brutus so far that the anti-monarchical energy and vehemence of Cassius, when they came to operate on his weaker companion, found a disposition not wholly averse from his projects.

But whatever movements may have been going on in the mind of Brutus tending towards hostility to Caesar, we cannot think that Cicero knew of them. About the time of the marriage, Porcia, the sister of Cato, died. At the end of July, Cicero wrote a panegyric on her. No more stress, in a political sense, is to be laid on such a work than on any magazine article which might be written to-day as an obituary notice of a well-known personage. That no political significance attached to this special laudation may be inferred, not only from the fact that the object was a lady who does not appear to have taken much part in politics, but also because Caesar's librarian, M. Varro, also wrote a similar laudation, as did possibly C. Oppius.<sup>2</sup>

In June, shortly after the marriage, Cicero left his Tusculanum, and went to Arpinum, plainly to avoid Brutus, who was constantly visiting him.<sup>3</sup> Cicero admired Brutus in many ways and at a distance; he could tolerate his company for a short time; but continued personal intercourse with such a rigid, persistent, ungracious man was a burden;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Brut. 13: φιλόστοργος δ' ἡ Πορκία καὶ φίλανδρος οὖσα καὶ μεστὴ φρονήματος νοῦν ἔχουσα.

<sup>2</sup> See Boot on Att. xiii. 48, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Att. xiii. 11, 1: Ne magnum onus observantiae Bruto nostro imponerem. . . . Hoc autem tempore cum ille me cotidie videre vellet, ego ad illum ire non possem, privabatur omni delec-

tatione Tusculani.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Att. xii. 29, 1 (of a previous occasion): Nec ego Brutum vito nec tamen ab eo levationem ullam exspecto, sed erant causae cur hoc tempore istic esse nollem, quae si manebunt, quaerenda erit excusatio apud Brutum et, ut nunc est, mansuetae videntur.

and he expresses that feeling in the most courteous way possible to Atticus, who was a close friend of Brutus. We cannot think, with Schmidt (p. 176, Briefwechsel, pp. 322-4), that Cicero was afraid that Brutus was suspected of hatching republican schemes because he had just married Cato's daughter, and that he (Cicero) would compromise himself with the Caesarians if he should be observed to have frequent interviews with Brutus. But Caesar does not appear to have had any suspicion of Brutus at this time: the kind of caution which Schmidt attributes to Cicero was not characteristic of Cicero: and it is hard to believe that in a private letter to Atticus he would not have expressed himself more explicitly.

The very difficult and corrupt passage in Att. xiii. 20, 4, so corrupt that nothing definite or even approximate can be educed from it, does not seem to have any reference to politics at all, but to be concerned with certain criticisms which were directed against the way in which Cicero was trifling with his reputation by resting on his laurels, and taking no active part in forensic life (*iudicia tenere*). Schmidt, by reading *Bruto* for *toto*, makes the whole passage refer to supposed criticisms on Cicero's lack of sympathy with the republican projects of Brutus. Even if this emendation be allowed (and we think it quite too uncertain to adopt), Cicero would hardly speak of himself as "easily despising" such a charge as desertion of political principles, or regard such accusations as mere *nugae*.

Nor need we suppose that Cicero was privy to any republican designs of Brutus, because he says that he fails to understand the reason for Brutus's defence of Caesar in reference to the murder of Marcellus.<sup>1</sup> Cicero himself declared that, even if the murder were unexplained, no one would dream of suspecting Caesar. No doubt the reason why Brutus made this defence of Caesar was that there

<sup>1</sup> Att. xiii. 10, 3: Plane quid sit non intellego.

had been some talk to the effect that the murder might be laid to his account, and Brutus wished, in the name of ordinary common sense, to express his dissent from such silly and malicious gossip. All Cicero wanted to know was, who were spreading these reports, and what reason Brutus can have had for acting as Caesar's champion in such a case.

Shortly after this, Brutus, far from acting against Caesar, went to greet him on his return from Spain, and received much honour at his hands. Cicero, indeed, expresses some reluctance to meet Brutus on his return (Att. xiii. 39, 2).

Brutus, inquis, eadem (sc. via). Scilicet: sed nisi hoc esset (the arrival of Quintus) res me ista (the arrival of Brutus) non cogeret. Nec enim inde venit unde mallet neque diu afuit neque ullam litteram ad me (sc. misit).

It was the last clause, we think, that expressed Cicero's real grievance; the former one (*nec enim inde venit unde mallet*) was probably only a vague expression of dissatisfaction that a Brutus, who professed republican sympathies, should show himself so ready to accept lavish favours from the monarch; it was adduced merely as an additional reason for avoiding an unpleasant duty. Certainly Cicero expressed no disapproval of the journey which Brutus made to Caesar *before* he set out upon it.

When Caesar returned from Spain, Brutus expressed to Atticus—apparently in a letter written early in August (Att. xiii. 40, 1)—a belief that Caesar was intending to return to the policy of the Optimates, probably because Caesar had stated that instead of the *praefecti urbis* the ordinary magistrates would be appointed. The hope that arose when Marcellus was pardoned, but which had been speedily dispelled, now only very slightly moved even the impulsive Cicero:—

Itane nuntiat Brutus illum ad bonos viros. *Εὐαγγέλια*. Sed ubi eos? Nisi forte se suspendit. Hic autem? Tu "futilum

est." [The MSS. give *ut fultum est*. Schmidt admirably suggests *futilum*. We venture to alter *ut* into *tu*.] Ubi igitur φιλοτίχημα illud tuum, quod vidi in Parthenone, Ahalam et Brutum? Sed quid faciat?

"So Brutus announces the conversion of Caesar to the cause of the Optimates. Three cheers! But where will he find them? Unless, indeed, he hangs himself (and goes to join them in the other world). But what is Brutus himself going to do? (Is he going to oppose Caesar?) You say 'it is idle to expect it.' Where, then, do you leave that *chef d'œuvre* of yours, the family tree which exhibits the ancestors of Brutus as far back as Ahala the tyrannicide and Brutus the first consul, and which I have seen in the room which Brutus calls his Parthenon? (*i.e.*, do you not at all take into account the effect of family tradition on Brutus?). But after all what can he do?" This would lead us to suppose that Cicero thought it possible that Brutus might be so far influenced by his ancestors as to dissociate himself from the monarchy, and that he sympathized with such a project; but reflected that Brutus could do but little, as there was no Optimate party existing. Still the passage is a proof that the restoration of the republic was a consummation towards which Cicero (and, accordingly, perhaps others) thought that Brutus *might* contribute. Yet Brutus still continued to act openly as a Caesarian, and, as we have seen, was made urban praetor for 44. But the real contradiction of his life was now beginning. Up to this, wherever his sympathies may have lain, he had *acted* loyally for Caesar; now his action becomes twofold, openly for the monarchy, secretly against it.

For the conspiracy was already afoot. We read that, in the summer of 45, Trebonius met Antony at Narbo, and sounded him on the subject (Cic. Phil. ii. 34; Plut. Ant. 13). The full details of the conspiracy are not known, but the special jealousy of a number of Caesar's lieutenants,

who did not think that they had received sufficient rewards, doubtless formed the basis; and the grave dissatisfaction which appeared to be widely felt at many of Caesar's recent despotic acts, caused them to think that the main body of the people were hostile to Caesar, and that, once he was removed, the machine of government would return to its ordinary working. His ancient name, honourable in the history of freedom, and the abnormally high reputation for respectability and learning which attached to Brutus made him an admirable figure-head for the conspiracy. Originally with republican sympathies where his own interest was not concerned, having those sympathies quickened by Porcia, stimulated by Cassius, and excited by various anonymous appeals that he should, like his ancestors, save his country, the stiff and ungracious student, who was educated beyond his powers in all sorts of fantastic Greek notions about the virtue of tyrannicides, was driven into the position of nominal leader of the plot. And there may have been the additional reason, ingeniously suggested by Schmidt (pp. 177-178), that, as Caesar had in the autumn of 45 adopted Octavian, all hopes that Brutus would be Caesar's heir had vanished; and to a man who had received great favours from Caesar, and who was deficient in generosity and loyalty, as was Brutus, such a motive need not have been without its influence.<sup>1</sup>

Still the fact that Marcus Brutus was not made even a *second* heir in Caesar's will, while Decimus Brutus was nominated as such, makes us hesitate to adopt this suggestion; yet there is certainly evidence, as Schmidt points out (though that was long after the Brutus-legend

<sup>1</sup> We should like to know what attitude Servilia took up towards the conspiracy. We fancy disapproval. She was certainly not friendly to Porcia (Att. xiii. 22, 4), and she may have

retained much of her passion for Caesar. But, as she appears to have never wearied in the interests of her son (cp. Att. xv. 10; 11. 2: 17. 2; Brut. i. 18. 1), she certainly kept silence.



had been developed) that it was surmised by the friends of Brutus that he would be Caesar's heir, or at any rate the first man in Rome after Caesar: cp. Plutarch, Brut. 8:—

“Then when certain people denounced Brutus and bid Caesar be on his guard against him, touching his body with his hand, Caesar said: ‘What? Do you think that Brutus cannot wait until this frail body (*σπαρίον*) shall pass away?’ implying that no one else had a right to his plenitude of power after him except Brutus. And it does seem that Brutus would have been assuredly the first man in the city if he had waited but a short time until Caesar sank to a secondary place, and if he had allowed Caesar's glory to fade and the renown of his actions to wither away.”

Caesar, that profound judge of character, probably saw the great qualities of Octavian, and the absence of anything really great in Brutus; accordingly, he designated the former as his successor, while he considered that he had already bestowed sufficiently ample favours on the latter.

No further reasons than these are necessary to account for the fact that Brutus joined the conspiracy, or for the prominent part he took in it.

L. C. PURSER.

NOTES ON LONGINUS *περὶ ὕψους*.

IX. 9 (p. 15, Vahlen) :

ταύτῃ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνὴρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε κατέφευγεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων "εἶπεν ὁ θεός" φησί· τί; γενέσθω φῶς καὶ ἐγένετο.

Perhaps ἐθεώρησε.

IX. 13 (p. 17, V.) :

οἶον ὑποχωροῦντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἴδια μέτρα τέρημονμένου τὸ λοιπὸν φαίνονται τοῦ μεγέθους ἀμπώτιδες.

Possibly ἀνιμωμένον.

X. 3. At the end of Sappho's ode *Φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἵσος θίοισιν*, after *φαίνομαι* the Paris codex of Longinus has *ἀλλὰ παντόλματον ἐπεὶ καὶ πένητα*, which continue the Sapphic rhythm with the exception of the last two words. I suppose the poetess to complete her description of the passion which possessed her by a determination to press her suit when the object had given signs of resentment; on this view we might believe *καὶ πένητα* to conceal *χαλέφθη*. "Sed nihil non audendum, postquam iram ei commovero": anger once roused, what might she not hope for? This assumes *πὰν τόλματον* (Bergk and most edd.) to be right.

## X. 7 :

μεγέθη συνοικονομούμενα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσει συνετειχι/μένα.

This is usually corrected to συνετειχισμένα. It might also be συνεστοιχισμένα or συνεστιχισμένα, "set in a row side by side."

## XV. 1 :

Ὅγκου καὶ μεγαληγορίας καὶ ἀγῶνος ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὃ Τεραντιανέ, καὶ αἱ φαντασίαι παρασκευαστικώταται· οὕτω γοῦν εἰδωλοποιίας αὐτὰς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν.

I suspect we should write τὰς αὐτάς, "such at least is the name given by some to what is also called imagery."

## XV. 7 :

δυναί δὲ καὶ ἐκφυλοὶ αἱ παραβάσεις, ἥνικ' ἂν ᾗ ποιητικὸν τοῦ λόγου καὶ μυθῶδες τὸ πλάσμα καὶ εἰς πᾶν προσεκρίπτον τὸ ἀδύνατον.

τοῦ ἀλόγου would agree better with the rest of the definition, "the absurd" or "irrational."

## XXIV. 2 :

αἷτιον δ' ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τοῦ κόσμου ταῦτόν οἶμαι· ὅπου τε γὰρ ἐνικὰ ὑπάρχει τὰ ὀνόματα, τὸ πολλὰ ποιεῖν αὐτὰ παρὰ δόξαν ἐμπαθοῦς, ὅπου τε πληθυντικά, τοῦ εἰς ἓν τι εὔηχον συγκορυφοῦν τὰ πλείονα, διὰ τὴν εἰς τοῦναντίον μεταμόρφωσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν τῷ παραλόγῳ.

Is there any objection to retaining ἐμπαθοῦς, and constructing παρὰ δόξαν closely with it? "When the words are singular to convert them into plurals belongs to the unexpectedly emotional," not, as Pearce translates, "*eiūs est, quī praeter expectationem afficitur*!"

τὸ παρὰ δόξαν ἐμπαθὲς nearly = τὸ παράλογον καὶ ἐμπαθὲς, that which takes us by surprise, and is thus emotional: cf. Plut. Mor. 25 D, de audiendis poetis τὸ γὰρ ἐμπαθὲς καὶ

παράλογον καὶ ἀπρυσδόκητον, ὃ πλείστη μὲν ἐκπληξίς ἐπεται, πλείστη δὲ χάρις, αἱ μεταβολαὶ παρέχουσι τοῖς μύθοις.

## XXXII. 3 :

διόπερ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ ὁ Θεόφραστος μειλίγματά φασί τινα τῶν θρασειῶν εἶναι ταῦτα μεταφορῶν τὰ “ὥσπερ εἰ φάναι” καὶ “οἶονεῖ” καὶ “εἰ χρὴ τοῦτον εἰπεῖν τὸν τρόπον” καὶ “εἰ δεῖ παρακινδυνευτικώτερον λέξαι. ἡ γὰρ ὑποτίμησις, φασίν, ἱᾶται τὰ τολμηρά.

ὑποτίμησις of the Paris MS. should not be altered. The various modifications mentioned by Longinus, “so to speak,” “as it were,” “if one may say so,” &c., are so many undervaluations or abatements from the full strength of the metaphorical language employed. In this sense ὑποτίμησις nearly = correction, or speaking under correction.

## XXXIV. 2 :

σκόμματα οὐκ ἄμουςα οὐδ' ἀνάγωγα κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' ἐπικείμενα.

Ruhnken's ἐπιεικῇ gives an excellent antithesis, but is rather far from the word. Perhaps ἐπικείμενα may mean urgent, giving no quarter, and refer to the directness and unsparing character of the repartee.

## XXXIV. 4 :

τὰ μὲν θατέρου καλά . . . καρδίῃ νήφοντος ἄργα καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἡρεμεῖν ἔωτα.

The proverb, as given by Plut. de Garrul, p. 503 F, τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ νήφοντος ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης ἐστὶ τοῦ μεθύοντος, ὡς οἱ παροιμαζόμενοί φασιν, shows that νήφοντος depends on καρδίᾳ, “inoperative (producing no effect) to the heart of the sober man.” Weiske is wrong, I think, in translating “mente sobrii,” sober in mind. The Ionic form of the dat. seems to prove that it was known in a poetical form.

## XXXV. 2 :

τί ποτ' οὖν εἶδον οἱ ἰσόθεοι ἐκεῖνοι ; . . . πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ἡ φύσις οὐ ταπεινὸν ἡμᾶς ζῶον οὐδ' ἀγεννὲς ἐ//ρινε τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

If the MS. is rightly reported, the word ought to be ἐπέκρινε, cf. XXXVI. fin.: τοσαῦτα ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων ἐπικρίναι σκεμμάτων.

## XXXV. 16 :

ἀλλ' ὥς εἰς μεγάλην τινα πανήγυριν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἐπάγουσα θεατὰς τινὰς τῶν ὅλων αὐτῆς (sc. Nature) ἐσομένους καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτους ἀγωνιστάς.

τῶν ὅλων ought not to be changed to τῶν ἄθλων (Reiske). τὰ ὅλα, of which Dindorf's Stephanus quotes a great many examples, is used in a sense approaching this one of Longinus by Xenophon, Cyr. viii. 7, 22, θεοὺς οἱ καὶ τήνδε τῶν ὅλων τάξιν συνέχουσι, "spectators of her whole working," *spectatores summae operum*.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## THE ROYALTY OF PERGAMUM.

THE publication of the inscriptions found at Pergamum by the German archæologists has thrown, as was expected, new light upon the history of that capital; and if many new problems have been rather raised than settled, it is only in accordance with our experience in analogous cases. Even the exaggerated admiration expressed by the Germans for the Pergamene sculptures, which are really second-class work, is but the excusable foible of discoverers in every field of antiquity.

The political history of the Attalid kingdom has only once been treated, at any length, by a competent scholar. Years ago E. Meier, in his article upon Pergamum in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædia*, collected and explained all the then available knowledge. We now await from the first (as yet unpublished) volume of the great German publication on the recent excavations a new and authoritative history, with all the lights gained by their labours. The newly-acquired texts, with a very able commentary, are already before the public. But in this commentary no attention has been paid to the very peculiar relations of the kings to their capital implied in the Pergamene official documents; and yet these relations seem to me fraught with considerable historical importance. If, for example, we could prove that the relations of the Attalids to their state were consciously present to Augustus, when he was ordering his own position in the Roman commonwealth, we might find reasons for some of his enactments, and explanations for some of the obscurities which still

hang about that famous reconstruction of the Roman Constitution. In any case, the facts recently ascertained are well worth a discussion for their own sake.

The earliest of the texts with which we are here directly concerned is No. 18 of the collection. No doubt No. 13 is of greater general interest, for it discloses to us the dangerous revolt of mercenaries under a pretender, which the first Eumenes was obliged to face upon his assumption of the power, and the large concessions he was compelled to make to them and their partizans among the civil population. As the commentators justly point out, it was the sovran, who gained his throne with such difficulties and concessions, who presently appears to us as a semi-deified personage, completely controlling the state, though not yet decorated with the title king.

The tenor of the inscription, No. 18, is as follows: it consists of two documents—first, an official letter of Eumenes to the demos of Pergamum; next, a resolution adopted by the people, in consequence of that letter:—

The letter states that, inasmuch as five persons, appointed as *στρατηγοί*, had behaved well while in office, in that they had administered [the interests or moneys] of the city, and also the sacred revenues, with advantage to the demos and to the gods; in that they had made inquiry into the neglects of their predecessors, and, without sparing anyone who had kept back anything, had restored to the city the arrears of its dues; further, in that they had given special care to the offerings vowed to the gods, so that having carried into effect former decrees upon such matters, they had made the task of their successors easy in administering the public money (*διοικεῖν τὰ κοινὰ*)—under these circumstances “we, judging it right not to overlook those that administer in this wise (*οὕτω ἐπιστατούντων*), in order that those hereafter selected (*δεικνυμένοι*) may strive to preside properly over

the people (κατα τρηπον προιστασθαι του δημου), have determined ourselves to crown them at the [next] Panathenæa, and thought we should write to you, that you might, during the interval, consult and honour them as you think they deserve." The letter concludes with *ερωσθε*, which, as I have elsewhere shown, is the formula used by a king or superior to his inferiors, *ευτυχειτε* being invariably used in the reverse relation. This and the plural of majesty, as well as the independent and prior action on the part of Eumenes, show that he writes to the people a suggestion which was practically a command. The decree appended is accordingly nothing but an obsequious carrying out of Eumenes' wishes. The German commentary merely remarks, that here "we obtain a glimpse into a system of government which knew how to combine the unlimited powers of the ruler with the harmless illusion of democratic liberty; there is an ecclesia which passes votes, but the ruler's influence has secured his nomination of five officials, called *strategi*, who have the right to propose decrees (*γνωμη στρατηγων* appears at the head of several other texts), and thus are presidents of the people: their power is all the greater, inasmuch as they control the finances, both secular and sacred." Their control over the secular is here only inferred by filling up a gap before τ]ης πολεως και τας ιερας προσοδους with a conjecture, which I do not hold to be quite certain.

But there is, apart from this detail, much more to be drawn from the text. In the first place, *Eumenes stands quite outside the constitution of Pergamum*. The decree of the people speaks of him as the Great Benefactor of the city, who already enjoys the honour of a birthday feast (*ευμενεια*). But why does he especially honour these five men? Why does he allude to the peculations of former magistrates? Why does he use the curious word *δεικνυμενοι*, regarding their successors, for which the



words of the following decree substitutes the ordinary *κατασταθέντες*? Evidently, because we have come by accident on an important moment in the development of this royalty. Former *strategi*<sup>1</sup> had been elected by the people; *these were the first indicated by Eumenes*. Hence he desires to show, by his official letter, the real benefit accruing to the city from this change of nomination. But he only *indicated* to the citizens the men he wished; probably, he deliberately avoided speaking of this nomination as an appointment. He claims for them, probably with reason, that they were better chosen than their predecessors, and brought order into the finances of the city. It is further to be observed that, although these men were the official proposers of many decrees, the decree here following, which concerns honours voted to them, is proposed by an ordinary citizen, thus showing that all proposals did not emanate from the officials.

We now pass to consider the second part of the inscription: "The demos resolved, at the proposal of Archestratos, the son of Hermippus: since the *strategi* appointed (*κατασταθέντες*) by Eumenes have behaved well, even as he has written: It is decreed by the demos to give a vote of thanks to Eumenes, because, on every occasion, he considers the people's advantage, and honours and crowns those of the citizens who co-operate in this object, being desirous to increase the zeal of the magistrates appointed, that they may have a care of both sacred and political matters. In order, then, that the demos may show Eumenes its zeal about such men, it is decreed to crown them at the Panathenæa, for their good will towards Eumenes and the demos, and that the *ταμίαι* shall give them every year, at the feast of

<sup>1</sup> We should be tempted to infer from the phrase *των προτερον αρχειων* that the very title *strategi* was now newly instituted, did not an inscription,

which seems to be earlier (No. 5), open with the formula *εγνω βουλη και δημοσ γνωμη στρατηγων*.

Eumenes, a sheep, which they will sacrifice to Eumenes the Benefactor." The decree ends, with an order for its publication, on a stele, together with Eumenes' letter.

The whole of this curious document corroborates what has been said above. Eumenes is a powerful benefactor, standing outside the Constitution, but holding no magistracy—nay, so far as we know, not even in the position of a citizen. He has no title other than the Benefactor, which was assumed by all his successors, with other epithets of distinction added to it. The title of *king* was not assumed by the dynasty till Attalus I. had conquered the Galatians in a great battle. But Eumenes already has a yearly feast in his honour, and sacrifices are on that day made to him as to a hero.

The question now arises, Was this anomalous state of things peculiar to Pergamum? Was it the invention of the early Attalids? Or was it derived from the previous arrangements and the traditions of the Greeks of Asia Minor? A brief survey of earlier notices and inscriptions will show that, as might be expected, the latter is the case, and that the apparent anomaly of a free city, with all its democratical forms, controlled by a single irresponsible ruler, from without the Constitution, is an usual type of the Greek polities of Asia Minor. Such a thing was, so far as I know, unknown in Greece, until, perhaps, under the Diadochi and Epigoni, who copied the Asiatic relations of ruler to free city. The evidence to be cited is unfortunately scanty, but perfectly consistent and clear in its indications.

Let us begin with a well-known passage of Herodotus (vi. 42): "Artaphernes, the sub-satrap (*ὑπαρχος*) of Sardis, having sent for people from the cities (of Ionia) to take his orders—Herodotus takes care to call them *ἀγγέλους*, to show that they had no powers—compelled the Ionians to make mutual agreements by which they might settle

disputes by legal procedure, and not plunder one another by raids." Here we have the first great benefit of this Oriental rule, a *pax Persica* throughout Asia Minor. "This he forced them to do, and then having measured their respective territories by parasangs fixed the tribute to be paid by each, which they keep paying from that time to my day, according to the assessment of Artaphernes, which hardly varied from their previous duty. These were their terms of peace." Herodotus then tells of the substitution of Mardonius, the king's son-in-law, for all the generals previously employed in Asia Minor, and of his mission with a large army to the Hellespont. "When Mardonius (he proceeds), sailing along the coast, arrived at Ionia, I will tell a marvellous fact to those Greeks who will not believe that Otanes argued among the seven Persian conspirators in favour of democracy among the Persians. For Mardonius, having abolished all the tyrants of the Ionians, established a democracy in each city." No doubt the tyrants, or single rulers who had hitherto been responsible for each city to the Persian king, had turned out untrustworthy and dangerous; it was a new and strange experiment to make a trial of democracies in their place. Herodotus does not add any details as to the over-lordship of the Persians, but it is obvious that the satrap of Asia Minor, acting for the king, must have been the practical sovran, interfering, whenever he thought it necessary, with these democracies, though in ordinary he was content to receive the tribute,<sup>1</sup> and report to the king that the province was quiet. Sufficient attention has not, however, been paid to this remarkable act of Mardonius, which, if I mistake not, gave a definite complexion to Asiatic politics

<sup>1</sup> This is the very phrase used by Polybius of the rights of the Attalid kings over the cities within their sway. τῶν δὲ πόλεων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ὅσαι μὲν Ἀττιδᾶς φόρον ὑπετέλουν ταύτας τὸν

αὐτὸν Εὐμένει τελεῖν, xxiv. 24; so also xxi. 48. The other prerogative was the right to keep a garrison in the Acropolis, and in frontier forts.

for centuries to come. The co-existence of an absolute sovereignty with a democracy in each city would have been thought an absurdity in Greece. Here it became an ordinary fact. Of course the satrap was outside the democratic constitution; he held no civic office; his favours were those of an external benefactor; his commands were no constitutional directions, though usually (we may infer) disguised as decrees proposed by his mouthpieces in the popular assemblies.

These inferences are supported by the very curious example of at least one dynastic family—the so-called tyrants of Halicarnassus, who grew up and prospered under the Persian sway. Here is what Strabo tells us (xiv. 2, § 17): Hecatomnos, king of the Carians, had three sons, Mausolus, Idrieus, and Pixodarus, and two daughters, of whom the elder, Artemisia, married Mausolus; the second, Ada, married his next brother Idrieus.<sup>1</sup> These four, Mausolus having no children, ruled in succession at the royal seat of the Carian kings, Halicarnassus, till the youngest brother, Pixodarus, drove out Ada. He then, taking the side of the Persians (Περσισαί), sent for a satrap to share his government; and when he died, the satrap, having married his daughter, held Halicarnassus for the king, till Alexander the Great, invading the country, listened to the petition of the exiled Ada, and allowed her to retake the city. It appears, moreover, that Mausolus had gathered together six neighbouring towns to swell the population of Halicarnassus (*op. cit.*, xiii. 1, § 59). We should infer, with certainty, from all this that Hecatomnos and his dynasty were the absolute controllers of Halicarnassus, which was their Residence, and of which the populousness was due to the sweeping in of the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo does not say whether the brothers and sisters were children of the same mother, though, from his silence, this seems likely. If so, it is

a curious instance of the fashion so censured afterwards among the Ptolemies. Arrian (i. 23) says it was κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῶν Καρῶν.

neighbouring population. Yet, even with Strabo only to guide us, we might feel doubt when we read his account of Cibyra (xiii. 4, § 17): "Three towns having joined it, the combination (σύστημα) was called a Tetrapolis, each (of the rest) having one vote, but Cibyra two; it used to furnish 30,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry. It was always under tyrants, but they behaved with moderation; in the time of Moagetes this tyranny was abolished by Murena." Here we have a tyrant, and under him a political system with votes.

What help can be obtained from inscriptions on this problem? Here are some texts in point<sup>1</sup>:—

τ]αδε εγνωσαν ο δημοσ των Αλικαρνατεων και Σαλμακίτων και Αλυδαμεις εν τη ιεραι αγορη; among the yearly magistrates following by whom the date is defined, we have επι Απολωνιδεω του Αλυδαμιδος μνημονευοντος, and then follow ordinances about the legal title to houses and lands. The people of Salmacis, on the headland opposite Halicarnassus, were amalgamated, but with maintenance of separate rights, by the dynasty into Halicarnassus.

The next inscription is in the name of the βουλη and δημοσ, in honour of a Ptolemy (II. and III.), who was sovran as practically as the old kings of Persia had been. But the most valuable of all for our purpose is the inscription containing three texts from Mylasa, the cradle of the dynasty of Hecatomnos.<sup>2</sup> Here we have, in a city which was certainly subject to the tyranny of Maussollus, "In the 39th year of the reign of Artaxerxes, Maussollus being satrap, it was decreed by the Mylaseans at a regular assembly, and the three tribes sanctioned it: 'since Arassus, son of Thusollus, sent by the Carians to the king, betrayed his embassy and plotted against Maussollus, who was the benefactor of the city of the Mylaseans, both

<sup>1</sup> No. 1 of Newton's coll. in his *Halicarnassus*, II., p. 670.

<sup>2</sup> Published CIG 2691, and still better by Le Bas and Waddington, II., p. 111.

himself and his father Hecatomnos and his ancestors ; and the king, deciding that he was criminal, punished Araissus with death,' the city of the Mylaseans proceeds concerning his property according to their traditional laws, and adds this property to that of Maussollus, with sundry threats against anyone who should propose any rescinding of the decree."

The next decree is against the sons of Pelarmos, who had insulted the statue of Hecatomnas, a great benefactor to the city. Their property is confiscated. The dating formula are the same, except that it is in the 45th year of Artaxerxes.

The third is dated in the fifth year of Artaxerxes (Ochus), Maussollus still being satrap, concerning Manitas, son of Pactyas, who had made an attempt on the life of Maussollus at a religious festival. Manitas being dispatched on the spot, inquiry is made into his accomplices, and the property of Thyssos, son of Syskos, is confiscated, together with that of Manitas, and handed over to Maussollus, with similar imprecations.

These documents show clearly (1) that a tyrant could exist over a constitutional Greek polity in Asia Minor ; (2) that the official title he held was that of satrap, even though he was a hereditary dynast, and not appointed by the great king. Whenever these dynasts rose into power, it was a question how far they could venture to assert their independent authority. They seem to have settled it by persuading the king to recognise them as satraps, apart from the official governor of the whole satrapy. But the model set by Mardonius seems to have lasted as regards the management of all the cities. Even when they were under this special or local kind of satrap, who was really a local tyrant, they preserved their forms of democracy. The dynasts' benevolences were met by votes of thanks, passed in the popular assemblies to them *as extern benefactors*.

I take the case of the Attalid dynasty to have been exactly similar. Philetaerus began as satrap of Lysimachus, hardly indeed so high ; but as governor (possibly ὑπαρχος) of the fort of Pergamum, which was one of the treasure-houses of the Thracian kingdom. When he passed over to Seleucus he was probably recognised as satrap of the district, just as Maussollus had once been at Halicarnassus. But though he and his successors may have brought new population and other great advantages to Pergamum, they appear as external benefactors, not recognised in the democratic constitution of the city under a boule and demos. In course of time they probably, as the above-quoted inscription testifies, obtained the nomination of the strategi, who were apparently the working committee of the boule, and so controlled the assembly, but never formally as kings, so far as our texts inform us. I do not think the title of βασιλεὺς,<sup>1</sup> assumed by Attalus I., made any formal change in this state of things, owing to the peculiar traditions prevalent in Persian Asia Minor from old days.

All the inscriptions in the new volume separate the king and his mercenary soldiers from the assembly of the citizens. Thus, No. 62 has first a dedication by the boule and demos, then the soldiers who sailed with Eumenes on his second expedition to Greece, separately dedicating a statue. Such a formula as "the king and his people" never occurs except (No. 160) in this connection—the religious feasts celebrated "by King Eumenes with his brothers and with the demos of the Pergamenes"; and this in a laudatory text where the boule decrees honours to the whole family for their active help in restoring Antio-

<sup>1</sup> The modern title of *king* implies a definite kingdom as its correlative. That was not the case with the term βασιλεύς under the Diadochi of Alexander. Demetrius Poliorketes, for

example, was called by this title in the lifetime of his father, and when he possessed no definite sovereignty. This is quite the same as the Homeric use.

chus Epiphanes. No. 156 is a decree giving the right of citizenship to the people of Tegea, the reputed ancestors of the Pergamenes, in which there seems to be no notice whatever taken of the actual king. No. 157 is, indeed, a formal letter of Eumenes II. to the boule and demos of Temnos, which, according to No. 5, had been granted isopolity with Pergamum; and it alludes to the embassy from that neighbouring town. But the whole context is lost. It is most likely, from the stray words preserved, that it concerns some grant from the king's private property or purse. Nevertheless this is certain that, in the many discussions we find in Polybius whether any city is to be free or to belong to King Eumenes, some control is intended, implying some tribute, though Polybius takes care to tell us<sup>1</sup> that the liberties conceded by Eumenes to the cities subject to him were ample and almost absolute. The royal family certainly attained to great wealth. Since confiscated property was given to them, as it was to Maussollus, we can easily understand one source of wealth; there is reason to believe that a large part of the manufactures of Pergamum, which were most celebrated, were royal property (cp. Nos. 158, 249). The long but sadly mutilated text, No. 163, contains directions and ordinances issued by the king in person, who apparently sends trusty officers to settle the quarrels of the Dionysiac artists with the people of Teos; but in religious matters I take the king's direct powers to have been far larger than in politics, and the affairs of the artists concerned with Dionysus may fairly be regarded as such.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> We have it, in Livy XLII. 4, but without doubt taken from Polybius, viz. *et ita se in regno gereret, ut quae sub ditione ejus urbes essent nullius liberæ civitatis fortunam secum mutalam vellent.*

<sup>2</sup> It appears plainly from the well preserved text, No. 248, that Attalus

II. and III. nominated to priesthoods without any popular vote, or the consent of the demos of Pergamum. This may be the result of the increased powers gradually assumed by the royal house; but I am inclined to think that in this department even the earlier members of the dynasty had ample powers.



deification or heroification of the Attalids was actually earlier than their regification, and we may well believe that religious honours and powers were lavished upon Philetaerus and Eumenes I. in order to avoid transferring to them formal authority in politics. Of course they must have ultimately put aside the fiction of being mere outsiders; they may have issued rescripts to the people which were tantamount to orders; but the theory is nevertheless quite a distinct one; they were mere external benefactors to free cities, rewarded as such with tithes and with the highest religious dignities. They were direct lords only over their mercenaries, who had sworn to obey them, and owners of the large revenues which they derived from their family possessions. They assumed the right of coinage also, a distinct mark of sovereignty; but, if I may so say, a personal right, for they place on their beautiful coins the head of Philetaerus, who was now set up as their deified ancestor.<sup>1</sup> The constitutional relation of the King of Pergamum to the people of that city was indeed only a matter of theoretical interest so long as the sovereigns—politic and moderate men—exercised their power, which was mainly the power of their army, moderately, and, though they must have possessed unlimited authority, respected the democratic forms of Greek city life. We have no information whether the various cities which came under their rule through conquest or through permission of the Romans were less free than Pergamum, nor do we know whether they were merely controlled by a royal garrison, or by some contrivance such as the ‘indicating’ of the civic officers who guided the popular assemblies.

But when the last Attalus (III.), for reasons unknown

<sup>1</sup> The implied powers in the right of coining are not clear to me, and I shall consider them on another occasion; the

actual coins have been reproduced with an excellent commentary by Imhof Blumer in *Trans. Berlin Acad.*, 1884.

to us, made a will in which he named the Roman people as his heirs, the question naturally arises : what had he a right to bequeath ? The fact of this will has often been called in question, or rather its genuineness, for it was quite within the morals of the Roman diplomacy of that day to forge such a document if it could not be extracted by persuasion or threats from the testator. Thus Meier, in his exhaustive article already cited, gives all the texts which mention the transaction, and concludes that the document was a forgery.<sup>1</sup> Mommsen accepts the will as genuine, observing that the last holder of such a sovereignty had the right to bequeath it to the Roman people in absence of legitimate heirs. The king's motives are supposed to have been hatred to his people, whom he is reported (by Justin) to have treated tyrannically and cruelly.

But no critic seems to have laid stress upon the fact that our authorities give two very different accounts of the will, of which the genuineness is established by the inscription presently to be cited. All the vaguer and more general statements say that he bequeathed " his

<sup>1</sup> The following are the texts collected by Meier :—

Hor. Carm. II. 18, 5, Neque Attali ignotus heres regiam occupavi, with the schol. (Acron) Nempe ostendere vult Romanos non jurefactos Attali heredes.

Plutarch, Tib. Gracchus, 14, and Victor, De Viris Illust., c. 64.

Livy, Epitome LVIII. and LIX.

Eutropius IV. 8. Attalus rex Asiæ frater Eumenis mortuus est heredem qui populum Romanum reliquit.

Serv. in Virgil, Æn. I., 701, almost same words.

Strabo, p. 624, κατέλιπε δὲ κληρονόμους Ῥωμαίους.

Vellejus II. 4. Mortuo rege A. A quo Asia populo Rom. hereditate relicta est, sicut relicta postea est a Nicomede Bithynia.

Orosius, v. 8, Attalus Eumenis filius moriens testamento pop. Rom. imperio Asiæ succedere heredem jussit.

Rufus, brev. x., Asia societate Att. regis nota Romanis est eamque Att. testamento relictum hereditario jure possidemus.

Appian, Mithrid., 62, De Bell. Civ. v. 4 (only reports of speeches, which may not be accurate).

Obsequens, c. 87, Asia A. testamento legata Romanis.

Florus II. 20, Att. rex Pergamenorum, regis E. filius, socii quondam commilitonisque nostri testamentum reliquit : Pop. Rom. bonorum meorum heres esto—an unusual formula.

Seneca, Controvers. II. ad fin., says : omnium bonorum meorum, omnis meæ pecuniæ heres esto.

kingdom" in "Asia" to the Roman people, whereas a few, though not higher, authorities cite the words, which are peculiar enough to persuade us of their accuracy, stating that he left his private possessions, or his money, to the Roman people. This distinction is plain enough in Plutarch's account of the action of Tib. Gracchus, when the will was brought to Rome by Eudemus of Pergamum. The king's wealth in money Gracchus proposed to apply to the stocking of the farms just granted according to his agrarian law. The question of the treatment of the cities which belonged to the kingdom of Attalus, as a political question, he reserved for the decision of the people. It is to be remembered that the larger part of Attalus' kingdom was a gift to his father Eumenes II. from the Roman senate. But as regards Pergamum, if I am right, Attalus was not its possessor. He had a royal palace there; he had large factories and many slaves in the city; he may have owned both houses and lands of citizens that had been confiscated; he was head of the religion of the place. According to the more precise version of his will, it was these possessions that he left to the Romans. He could not bequeath a democracy, though he may possibly have pretended to bequeath the tithe or tax, which they levied for him yearly to pay for their immunities.

How far does the newest inscription corroborate these views? Fortunately the first part of the text is well preserved and clear (No. 249):—*ἐπι ιερῶς Μενεστρα[του τ]ου Απολλοδωρου* (the usual *πρυτανις* is omitted) *μηνος Ευμενιου εννε[ακαιδε]κατη. εδοξεν τω[ι] δημῳ. γνωμη στρατηγ[ων]* (the usual formula all through Pergamene history). *ἐπε[ι] βασιλευς Ατταλος φιλομητρ και ευεργετη[ς μεθισ]ταμενος εξ ανθρωπων απολελοιπεν τη[μ πατρ]ιδα ημων ελευθερα[μ] προσουρισας αυτη και πολε[μαγ] χωραν, ην εκριν[εν], δει δε επικυρωθηναι την διαθη[κην] υπο Ρωμαιων, επιτηδειον τε εστιν ενεκα της κοινης ασφαλειας και τα υποτεταγμενα γενη μετεχειν της πολιτει[α]ς δια το*

απα[ντας? εὐ]νοιαμ προσενηνεχθαι προς τον δημον—This is the preamble. It decides once for all the doubts about the will. This was a genuine document, and so acknowledged at Pergamum. But it also contained provisions, or omitted provisions, about which our Roman authorities tell us nothing. Meier, commenting on the word *απελιπε*, in Appian, thinks it may mean *bequeathed*, and says there are instances of this use (which he does not cite) in later Greek. The more obvious and natural translation is: since Attalus has left our country free, adding to it in his will enemies' territory, which he defined (*i.e.* in the will; I do not think it necessary to assume an omission of words, as do the German editors of the text), and as it (this provision?) requires confirmation by the Roman people. In other words, while Attalus had left to the people of Rome all his personal fortune in money, slaves, &c., he had bequeathed the territory which he had conquered to the demos of Pergamum, now free and independent, practically, as well as theoretically, owing to his decease. If the will said, 'all my goods and money, with the exception of the land acquired from my enemies,' then we can understand that the sanction of the Roman people would be required for the exception. But if we suppose that Attalus formally left the demos of Pergamum free and independent by the wording of his will—a most improbable hypothesis—then the document would appear to have been, not the mischievous or rancorous bequest of an ill-natured tyrant, but the honest attempt of a friendly sovran to save the liberties of his people. From this point of view the bequest of a great private fortune to the Romans would be intended as a bribe to save the other provisions of the will.<sup>1</sup> But he little knew what sharks he had to appease. The Romans chose to

<sup>1</sup> Livy's Epitome LVII. mentions the large gifts which this Attalus sent Scipio when the latter was besieging

Numantia. This indicates a policy of making the Romans his friends, but perhaps also, the friends of Pergamum.

understand, under *his goods*, his seignorial rights over the free cities of Asia, viz. his right to levy a tribute, and so secure a large revenue, and this was the sovranity which the Roman people now assumed over the province of Asia.

The remainder of the text, No. 249, appears to me not to have been fully appreciated by the editors. It proceeds to ordain that the privileges of citizenship, either full or inchoate, shall be given to the following classes:—To all in the official list of the *παροικοι* (resident aliens) and to the mercenary soldiers permanently settled in the land, and to the Macedonians, Mysians, and Masdyeni guarding the frontier forts, as well as to their wives and children—full citizenship. To all the freedmen and to the slaves in the royal employment, and to their wives, excepting those bought under the last two reigns (25 years), and those which became royal property from confiscations, as well as to the slaves in the city's employment—the inchoate citizenship (to be *παροικοι*). All such as have left the city at the crisis of the king's death to be disfranchised and their goods confiscated.

There seems to me to be one piece of sharp practice here. If any slaves in royal employment (in manufacturing stuffs, parchment, &c.) were now made partial citizens, it was to prevent their being sold by the Roman people, in order to realize the property of Attalus: in other words, it was taking away from his bequest to Rome, in order to strengthen the city. On the other hand every loyal citizen must have foreseen public danger from jealous neighbours, and must have eagerly desired to strengthen the demos by enlarging as much as possible the number of the free citizens. We hear that, in the revolt of Aristonicus which ensued, he was supported by a vast number of slaves. It is probable that the Romans did not admit the validity of the decree we have been considering, and that the *βασιλικοι*, or royal slaves who

were working in the king's factories, even if not acquired by confiscation, were baulked of their promotion to freedom. Hence we can well understand their zeal for Aristonicus when he revolted and assumed the Attalid crown.

To sum up. Pergamum, being always in theory a free democracy, could not possibly be included among the king's private goods. This he recognised in his will, for he bequeathed to the city, or added to the property of the city, certain lands, defined in his will, which he had conquered from a hostile neighbour. The democracy forthwith asserted its rights by adding largely to the number of its citizens, and other privileged inhabitants. The Romans, on the contrary, deliberately mistranslated the king's bequest to include *all* his prerogatives. Nevertheless, from the very outset Tib. Gracchus acknowledged the distinction between the king's private purse and his control of the Asiatic cities which were supposed to be under his sovereignty.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

FOUR NOTES ON LUCILIUS.

THE following emendations are not mentioned in the editions of Gerlach, Lachmann, Müller, or Bährens. The references are to Bährens (*Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum*).

62.

Post ibimus contra

Pestem perniciemque catax quam et Manlius nobis.

Hostilius contra, the MSS. of Nonius. Read *hostibimus contra*. 'Hostire contra' is 'to pay tit for tat,' which is the sense demanded here.

140.

Quodsi nulla potest mulier tam corpore duro  
Esse, tamen tenero manet quin sucus lacerto,  
Et manus uberis in lactanti sumine sidat.

Bährens calls this 'locus difficilimus.' If we read *minus* for *manus* all seems easy.

520.

Nonius, 'honor sepultura'; Lucilius, lib. xxvii., 'nullo honore displetu, nullo funere.' Hence Bährens writes :—

Nullo honore raedis fletu elatus, nullo funere,

accepting *raedis* from Munro. The true reading, however, seems to be

Nullo honore, heredis fletu nullo, nullo funere.

Cf. Syrus : 'heredis fletus sub persona risus est.'

894.

Festus: rederguisse per 'e' litteram Scipio Africanus Pauli filius dicitur enuntiasse ut idem etiam 'pertisum' cuius meminit Lucilius cum ait:

Quo facetior videre et scire plus quam ceteri  
 'Pertisum hominem' non 'pertaesum' dicere† ferum nam  
 genus.

Bährens changed the last four words to 'dic esse aerumnam penus,' which seems very improbable. The readings of the other editors are also unlikely. I put forward the suggestion that two glosses of Festus have got mixed up together—

Rederguisse, *etc.*, to pertisum hominem dice. *Then*  
 Reda: covini genus.

I have not much confidence in the particular words, but as it is Festus's habit to use 'genus' in his glosses, and as *dicere* seems to contain, as the beginning of a word, *re-*, it seems very likely that some such gloss has been lost here.

A. PALMER.

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#### NOTE ON SUETONIUS CLAUD. 8.

Solebant et manibus stertentis socci induci ut repente expergefactus faciem sibi confricaret.

I think Suetonius may have written *succi*, juices, sauces, &c. The fun was to see Claudius smear his face on waking with these things. *Socci* is scarcely intelligible.

A. P.



## FRAGMENTS OF TRANSLATION

FROM

DANTE AND SCHILLER.

BY THE LATE JOHN ANSTER, LL.D.

I.

DANTE.

*Paradiso, Canto xxxi.*

Like a white Rose in tranquil splendour shone  
The Saintly Army gathered from the earth ;  
The Bride whom in His blood Christ made His own.  
The other band meanwhile, of heavenly birth,  
Who evermore on wings of rapture move,  
Behold His glories, and still utter forth  
In song the goodness that inspires their love,  
And made them what they are and ever were,  
Like troops of bees that hover, now above  
The bloomy sweets, and then return to where  
Their fragrant toil, full oft descended on  
The many-petalled rose's bosom fair,  
And, soaring thence on wings of love, are gone  
Home to the Heaven where all their thoughts repose.  
Faces of living fire, and plumes that shone  
With gold, and bodies white as mountain snows,—

Angels down flowing from their glorious bower,  
 While resting on the bosom of the Rose,  
 Breath'd peace and love diffusive—such the power  
 Won by the fanning of their active wings,  
 Through range on range of that immortal Flower.  
 Nor doth that multitude of flying things  
 The sight and splendour from on high impede,  
 Nor shadow of interposition brings;  
 Each, that is meet, receives; for still proceed  
 Rays irresistible of light divine  
 Through the wide universe with timeless speed.  
 This realm—how still its joyance is, where shine  
 Saints of the days of old and of the new,  
 With love all gazing on the self-same sign!  
 Oh! Trinal Light, that, sparkling on their view,  
 To them in calm dost seem a single star,  
 Look thou on us who toil life's tempest through,  
 And o'er the raging waters wanderers are.  
 If the barbarians, coming from the clime  
 Where with her Son wheels Helice\* afar,  
 Struck dumb with wonder, gazed on Rome's sublime  
 Stupendous fabrics—saw the Lateran  
 Uprising over all the works of time,  
 I, to the heavenly from the world of Man,  
 From Time to the Eternal who had come,  
 From Florence to a people sage and sane,—  
 Judge how with wonder I was stricken dumb,  
 I had no wish to hear, and was as whom  
 Silence suits well. The pilgrim, when at last  
 He looks round in the temple of his vow,  
 Thinks how he will at home, all perils past,  
 Tell of the wonders he hath seen, and how

---

\* Callisto and Arcas.

Everything was; thus did I turn my eye  
Along the living light, now upward, now  
Downward, then round, then range o'er range on high,  
Faces I saw that win the heart to love,  
Lit with their own attractive dignity,  
And bright with radiance on them from above.  
A glance took in the whole of Paradise,  
But, resting nowhere, over all would rove.  
I turned me then to ask of Beatrice  
Things that I doubted of. My question to  
One was directed; from another is  
The answer; for an old man met my view,  
Clothed like the rest in raiment snowy white.  
Over the old man's cheeks benign, the hue  
Of joy was shed and filled his eyes with light.  
A father, with a father's heart, seem'd he.  
"Where is she, where? or hath she vanished quite?"  
I ask'd, and he made answer, "It was she  
Who, that I might in this thy pilgrimage  
Assist at its last scene, entreated me.  
To the third circle of the highest stage  
Look up, and see her in the proper throne  
Due to her merits." As the pious sage  
Bade, I looked upward, and word spake I none;  
There did I see her with a glorious crown  
Of rays that from the light eternal shone.  
Far as the region where the thunders frown  
Is to the seaman's eye on the low sea,  
Was she whose image to my eye came down;  
Unstained, unmingled, it came down to me  
Through that translucent space divinely pure:  
"Oh! Lady, thou in whom my whole hopes be!  
Oh! thou who my salvation to secure

Didst leave thy traces in hell's cavern dread !  
Whose power and goodness did so long endure,  
Whose grace and virtue were exhibited  
In all thus shown me ; thou who, from a slave,  
Through every path to liberty that led,  
Didst win me on, in every way that gave  
A hope of rescue,—oh ! be **with me** still,  
**Guard me**, protect me, shelter me, and save,  
So that this soul of mine, which thou didst heal,  
When parted from the body, may to thee  
Be acceptable." Thus did I appeal  
To her in prayer, and from her high throne she  
Smiled—so it seemed—and looked on me, and then  
Turned to the Eternal Fountain, while to me  
Spake the old man—"That all be not in vain—  
Thy walk, my guidance, and her prayers—oh ! fly  
O'er this glad garden with thine eyes ; thus gain  
Familiar strength of sight to look on high  
Along the ray divine. Heaven's Queen, for whom  
I burn in love, all grace will give, for I  
Am her own faithful Bernard." As one come  
From far Croatia, that he may behold  
Our Veronica, all that he at home  
Hath heard—traditions of the days of old,  
Ponders ; and full of wonder, awe, and love,  
Untired with gazing, says, "Do I behold  
My Lord, my Saviour ? very God above,  
Are these Thy lineaments ? Thy likeness this ?"  
So gazed I on the old man's lively cheer,  
Who on this earth of ours heaven's perfect peace  
Had made his own in contemplation here.

## II.

SCHILLER.

*Das Ideal und das Leben.*

## I.

Calm is the flow of life, and clear, and bright,  
As breath of zephyr light,  
In high Olympus, where the happy live ;  
Moons wane and peoples fade,  
But yonder bloom the roses undecayed  
Of Youth and Love, on earth how fugitive !  
Man's is a niggard lot that but allows  
The peace of Spirit, or the thrill of Sense :—  
Together beaming on celestial brows  
Smiles their twin influence.

## II.

Would'st thou on earth—in Death's dominions—be  
As the Immortals free,  
Break not the fruit of his enchanted tree.  
Gaze on the charm—to touch were to destroy ;  
Desires, avenging momentary joy,  
Will in the moment flee.  
The river of the dead its ninefold waves  
In vain to stay the child of Ceres wound ;  
She tastes the fatal apple that enslaves,  
And is to Orcus bound.

III.

BODY alone is slave of the dark Powers  
 That weave this life of ours.  
 On airy wing impatient to escape  
 The grasp of Time, far off to their abodes—  
 Playmate of happy natures—with the Gods  
 Godlike, through her own heaven, floats effluent SHAPE.  
 On wings like hers would'st thou too float away,  
 Oh ! leave earth's burthen, earth's anxiety,  
 And from the prison of oppressing clay  
 To the Ideal flee.

IV.

Here in Youth's perfect loveliness (no trace  
 Of change in that high place)  
 Hovers the form divine of Humankind,  
 As phantom shapes of life by Lethe's stream  
 In silence glide and gleam,  
 As stood Man's image in the Eternal Mind  
 Ere yet the deathless put on mortal life.  
 On earth War's trembling scale is still suspended—  
 Here crown'd sits Conquest ; hither sound of strife  
 Hath never yet ascended.

V

Not to ward off inevitable strife—  
 To give the faint new life  
 Waves Conquest's fragrant wreath. Rest cannot be.  
 Move not a nerve !—in vain ! in vain ! no peace !  
 The whirl of Life and Time—oh ! will they cease ?—  
 And whirling on with them they hurry thee—  
 But if the wing of courage droop—if worth  
 Sink in despair by Fate's oppression pain'd,  
 Then from the hill of Beauty looking forth,  
 See the glad goal attain'd !

• • • • •

## VII.

A stream that tore through broken rocks its way,  
 Raging in foam and spray,  
 Was Human Life; but here its peaceful flow  
 Thro' the still shadow-land of Beauty glides.  
 Together trembling on its silver tides,  
 Distinct the stars of morn and evening glow.  
 Man's passions lose their angry aspect here,  
 Where all, subdued by Love in graceful chains,  
 Play free. In Beauty's reconciling sphere  
 No enemy remains.

## VIII.

**When burning genius would ensoul the dead,  
 Would with dull Matter wed,  
 Give airy thought a life 'mong outward things**

• • • • •

[Schiller's poem has, in some editions, additional stanzas, here omitted. The numbering followed by Dr. Anster, and given above, is that in Cotta's edition of the *Gedichte*, 1852.]

END OF VOL. IX.





1

*not a reason at,  
I think no sample.*

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